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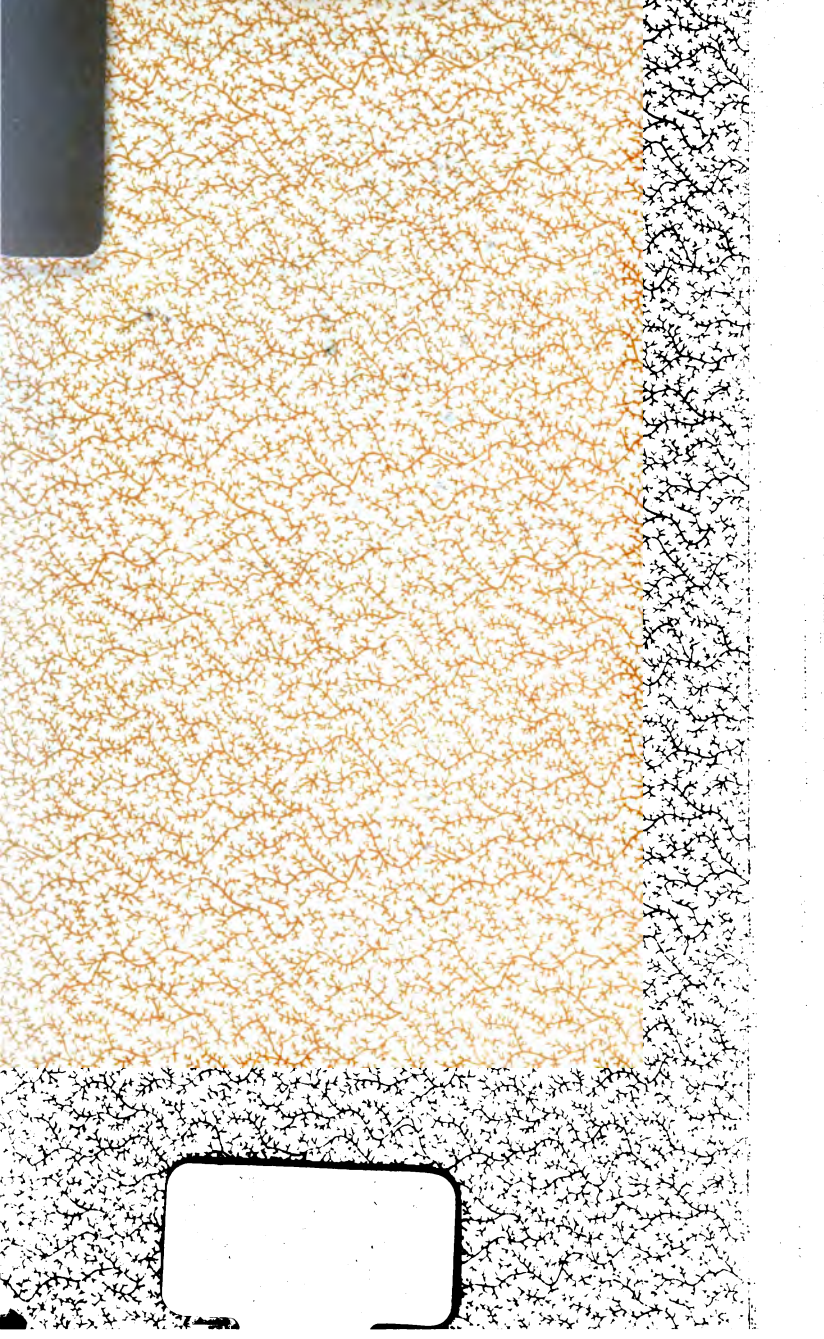
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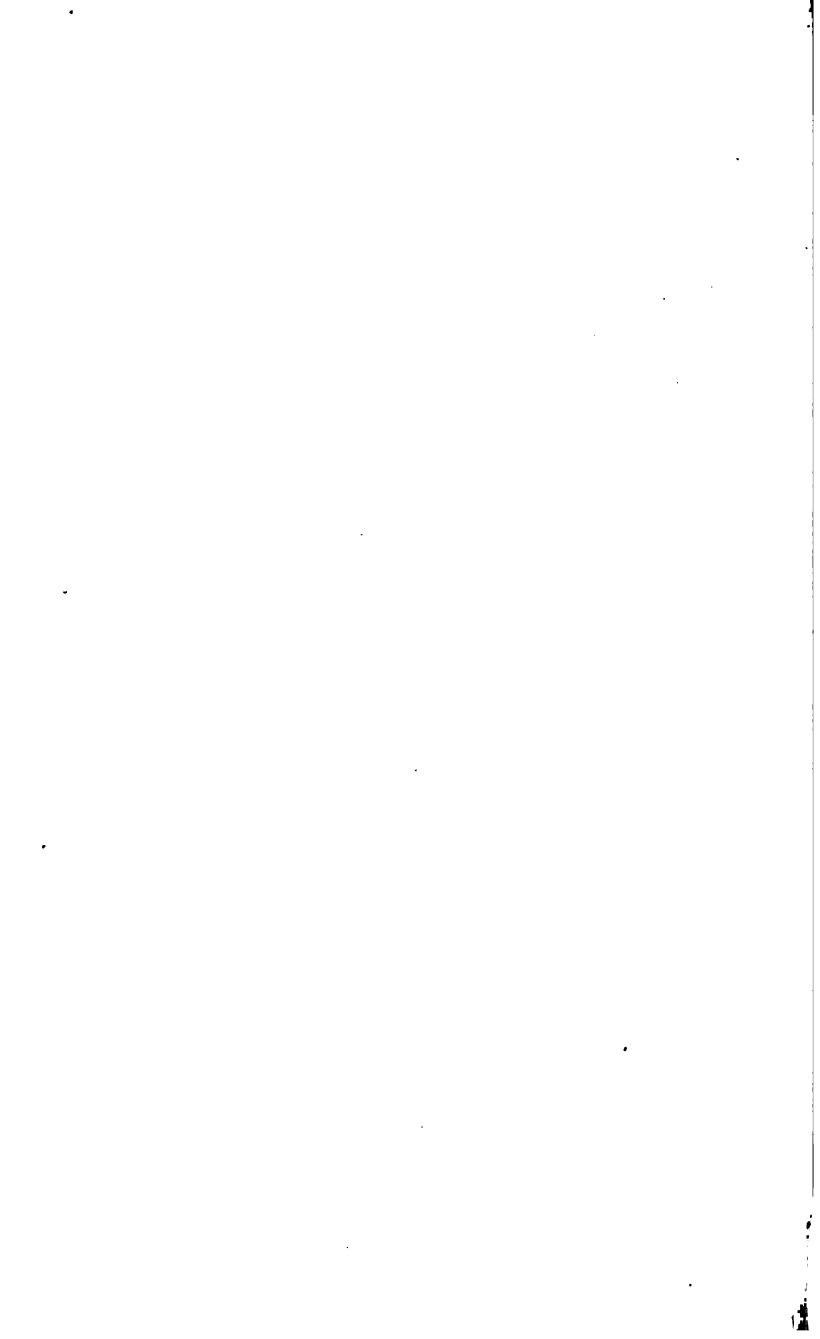


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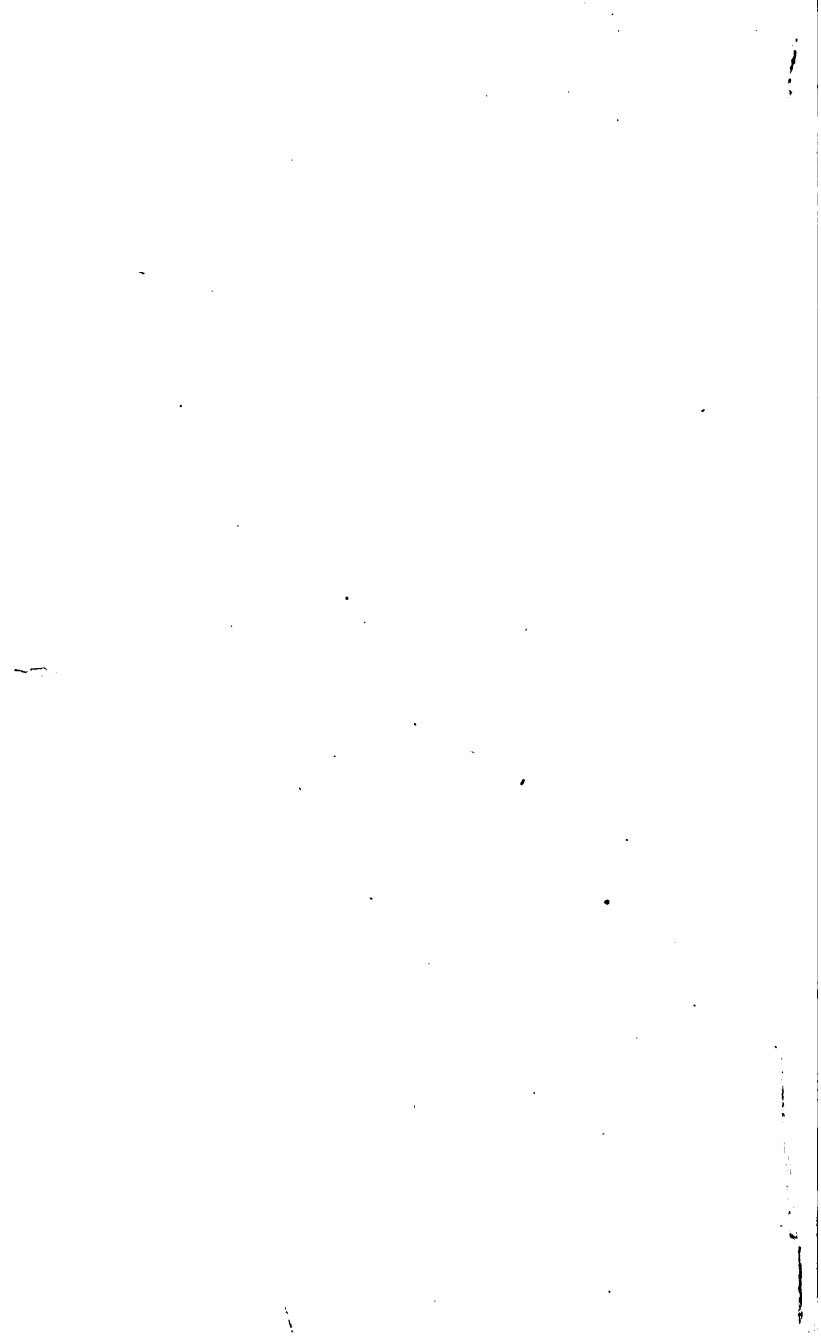
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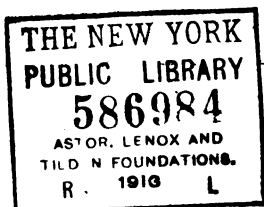
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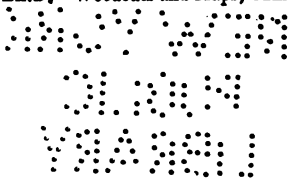
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IN the present edition of 'Mrs. Markham's History of Germany,' considerable alterations have been made in the arrangement of the Work: some parts of it have been re-written, and the whole revised and corrected. The accounts of Luther and the Reformation, of the heroes of the Thirty Years' War, and of the struggles of Germany with the French Republic and Empire, have in particular been considerably enlarged; whilst, at the same time, by the abridgment or omission of several unimportant articles, care has been taken not to add inconveniently to the bulk of the Work. The narrative, which in the former edition terminated with the Peace of Paris in 1815, has now been continued to the year 1850; thus including a period which, though not marked by events so extraordinary as those that characterized the preceding five-and-thirty years, is nevertheless one of great importance as regards the internal condition of Germany.

T. H. D.

March 31st, 1853.

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ERRATA.

Page 11, 9th line from bottom, for "Alsatia" read "Lusatia."
,, 287, Note, for "*Gefügniss*" read "*Gefängniss*."

NOTES
ON
THE
LUSATIAN
LANGUAGE

HISTORY OF GERMANY.

CHAPTER I.

INVASION OF GERMANY BY MARIUS—JULIUS CÆSAR, TIBERIUS, AND
DRUSUS—ARMINIUS DELIVERS GERMANY FROM THE ROMANS.

From B.C. 113 to A.D. 21.



Statue of Drusus, erected by his Army on the Rhine.—Destroyed by the French, 1688.

THE limits of ancient Germany were probably not very different from those of the country which still bears that name. On the west it was bounded by the Rhine; but a few tribes had from time to time crossed over to the left bank of the river, and founded colonies, which at a very early period fell into the hands of the Romans. On the south the Alps separated it from Italy, and on the north it was bounded by the Baltic and Northern Seas. The eastern limits were less distinctly defined, varying as

the Germanic tribes pushed their conquests to the very shores of the Black Sea, or were driven back to the Vistula.

The Roman writers who describe Germany as it was two thousand years ago, speak with horror of its cold and inhospitable climate, its heaths and swamps; and above all of a wild tract of woodland, called the Hercynian Forest, which extended, as they were told, more than sixty days' journey in length, and nine in breadth. The inhabitants of this desolate region were men of gigantic stature, with fair complexions, long yellow hair, and large well-opened blue eyes. The clothing of both sexes was simple; being nothing more than a woollen tunic without sleeves, which covered only the body, leaving the arms, legs, and thighs entirely unprotected. In some parts of the country the men wore skins of wild beasts, arranged in such a manner that the fur of the animal's head formed a hood, out of which a pair of blue eyes might be seen glaring fiercely beneath the grinning tusks of a boar, or the horns of a wild bull.

The earliest accurate accounts which we have of the Germans as a nation begin with the year 113 before Christ. In that year there appeared on the north-eastern frontier of Italy a warlike people named Cimbri, who probably came from the countries which are now Sleswick and Jutland. They do not seem at first to have had any design on the capital itself, but directed their attacks against Noricum, a province of Rome. Papirius Carbo, the consul, having marched into that country, addressed an angry remonstrance to the invaders, who endeavoured to pacify him by declaring (what was probably the truth) that until that moment they had never heard of any alliance between the people of Noricum and the Romans. As this explanation was graciously received, the Cimbri were astonished at finding their position attacked the next day by the whole Roman force: but they defended themselves with their accustomed bravery, and after an obstinate engagement cut the army of Carbo to pieces.

The Cimbri, joined by the Teutones, instead of invading Italy, as was feared, marched into Helvetia, where their force was still further augmented by the Ambrones, Tigurini, and other tribes. Their progress was marked by a succession of the most decisive victories. In the year B.C. 109, they defeated the consul M. Junius Silanus, in Transalpine Gaul. Two years afterwards they cut to pieces near the lake of Geneva the army of Marius' colleague, Cassius, who was himself slain in the engagement.

But their most remarkable victory was won in B.C. 105, when they totally destroyed in Gallia Narbonensis two consular armies consisting of eighty thousand men.

The Romans now found that decisive measures were necessary, and sent Marius into Gaul with a numerous army. The Cimbri had already marched southwards with the intention of storming Rome, whilst their allies, the Teutones, remained in Gaul to meet Marius. In the year 102 before Christ a bloody engagement was fought at Aix in Provence, in which the Romans were completely victorious, slaying, it is said, a hundred thousand of their enemies, and making ninety thousand prisoners. Meanwhile the Cimbri had crossed the Alps, and were preparing to attack a Roman position, when Marius appeared at the head of a considerable force, and called on the invaders to surrender; but the Cimbri, ignorant as yet of the disaster which had befallen their allies, on whose co-operation they had confidently reckoned, not only treated the summons with contempt, but demanded, as the only condition on which they would grant peace to the Romans, that lands should be given to themselves and their brethren the Teutones. Marius replied that "with regard to their brethren, they had already a place which they were not likely soon to quit," exhibiting at the same time Teutobach and his fellow-captives loaded with chains in front of the Roman line. Rage now filled the hearts of the Cimbri, who attacked Marius so fiercely that the issue was long doubtful: but Roman discipline at last prevailed, and the army of the barbarians, after a brave struggle, was utterly routed.

After this, we hear little of the Germans until the year 55 before Christ, when Julius Cæsar, who had already been many years in Gaul, where he had vanquished a renowned German chieftain named Ariovistus (a Roman corruption, perhaps, of *Heer*, a host, and *Fürst*, a prince), crossed the Rhine, probably near Cologne, by a bridge of boats, and continued eighteen days in Germany, ravaging the country with fire and sword: but being recalled to oppose Pompey, his conquests were necessarily abandoned, and the Germans remained unmolested until the reign of Augustus, when their country was again invaded by Drusus and Tiberius. In the year 9 before Christ, Drusus, after a succession of victories, which had placed the greater part of northern Germany at his disposal, was preparing to cross the Elbe, when a woman of gigantic stature and stern aspect suddenly appeared

in front of the troops, and addressed him in these words: "Thou insatiable robber! Whither wouldst thou go? Depart! The end of thy misdeeds and of thy life is at hand." Dismayed at this apparition, Drusus immediately retreated, and within thirty days died in consequence of a fall from his horse. But Germany, although delivered from one invader, still trembled before the victorious arms of Tiberius; and province after province fell, until the Romans, with comparatively little expenditure of blood or treasure, had made themselves masters of all the territory lying between the Rhine and the Elbe.—

The northern district had been committed to the government of Quintilius Varus, a leader of considerable reputation and experience, who entered Germany with an immense army, and proceeded to treat all the countries between the Rhine and the Elbe as conquered provinces, making military roads, repairing the castles built by Drusus, and establishing courts, in which justice was administered by judges brought from Rome. But a fearful reverse was at hand.

There happened to be at that time among the Cherusci a warrior named Arminius, or Hermann, who had served, like many of his countrymen, in the armies of Rome, where he had acquired the art of war, and learnt to detest the haughty conquerors of his native land. Of noble birth, sagacious beyond the wont of his countrymen, and possessing that rude and fiery eloquence which most readily finds its way to the hearts of barbarians, Arminius soon gained unbounded influence over the youth of Germany, whom he assembled at midnight in the deep recesses of their forests, and caused to swear by the gods, with many strange and mystic ceremonies, that they would not rest until they had utterly destroyed the Roman army of occupation.

An opportunity soon presented itself. In the year of our Lord 9, Varus received intelligence that some distant tribes were in a state of revolt, and immediately announced his intention of marching against the rebels with three legions. All the German princes promised to follow him, with the exception of a faithful ally named Segestes, who warned the Romans of treachery, and proposed that both himself and Arminius should be placed under arrest, until the truth or falsehood of his intelligence could be ascertained: but Varus, perhaps distrusting the good faith of his informant, refused to delay the march for a single hour, or even to enforce the watchful discipline usually observed in the Roman armies during their progress through a suspected country. As

he advanced, he found the roads blockaded with trunks of trees, whilst javelins were hurled at him by invisible enemies from the midst of the thick covert: a heavy autumnal rain increased his embarrassment, the roads became slippery, and the soldiers, accustomed to the sunny climate of Italy, were benumbed with cold. To relieve them, Varus ordered all the superfluous baggage to be burnt, and after three days of suffering the army reached an open space in the Teutoburgian forest. Here the great struggle began. The rain, which fell in torrents, the entangled forest, and the swampy ground, all favoured the hardy and light-armed Germans. The Romans, it is true, fought with their usual courage, but they were soon separated, their eagle taken, and infantry as well as cavalry cut to pieces. Varus, seeing the day irretrievably lost, threw himself on his own sword. Of the few prisoners, some were offered up as sacrifices to the gods of Germany, and the others sold into slavery. The spot on which this engagement took place is not precisely known; but it cannot be very far distant from Detmold on the Lippe.

The panic, which the intelligence of this disaster occasioned at Rome, extended to all ranks. Augustus, now an aged man, wandered for many days through the apartments of his palace, dashing his head against the walls, and calling wildly on Varus to give him back his legions; whilst the people, thoroughly disheartened, refused to serve any more against those terrible barbarians: nor was it until many of them were punished with death for their disobedience that another army was raised, and placed under the command of Tiberius, the Emperor's step-son. About the same time (A.D. 14) Germanicus, the son of Drusus, crossed the Rhine with a Roman army, and marched at once to the spot where the unfortunate Varus had fallen. The bones of the dead, which still lay whitening on the ground, were collected by order of the general, and burnt on a funeral pile, while Germanicus, in a fierce harangue, called on his men to avenge the dishonour which those accursed barbarians had inflicted on the Roman name. He then charged the German centre, which gave way; but the two wings came to the assistance of their comrades, and at the same moment some troops, starting from an ambuscade, attacked the enemy in flank, so fiercely, that the whole army of Germanicus would have been destroyed, had not some legions been in reserve to cover his retreat, which was the less interrupted, as the Germans were now engaged in pillaging the Roman camp.

The following year Germanicus twice attacked and vanquished the Germans, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Minden; but the courageous barbarians rallied, and compelled the Romans to take refuge on board their ships, most of which were soon afterwards driven ashore in a heavy gale of wind. Tiberius (who had succeeded Augustus on the Imperial throne) now wrote to Germanicus, commanding his immediate return. "There had been enough," he said, "of victories and conquests. The Germans might now be safely left to their own feuds, which in the end would destroy them more effectually than Roman swords."

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER I.

Manners and Customs of the Ancient Germans.—The ancient Germans, when not engaged in war or the chase, generally stretched themselves at full-length on their bear-skins, and slept or caroused away the hours until more stirring times or more favourable weather called them again into the field. At the banquet, which always followed their return from battle or hunting, they were wont to pledge each other in mighty draughts of beer and *mead* (a liquor made from fermented honey) until the feast became a scene of riot and often of bloodshed. On these occasions the most important public affairs were discussed: but it was generally deemed prudent to refer the final decision of any question to a second assembly, of which the members were tolerably sober. Like other barbarians, they were immoderately addicted to gaming; and sometimes, after staking arms, house, wife, children, and slaves, would play away their own freedom, and reduce themselves voluntarily to the condition of serfs. But amidst all this gross debauchery they were remarkable for the respect which they showed towards their women; a trait which has descended into modern manners, and which being heightened by the chivalry of the middle ages, has produced that contrast which appears in the condition of females in the present times when compared with their state in Greek and Roman antiquity. The Germans believed women to be endowed with more sanctity and wisdom than falls to the share of men. They even thought them capable of foreseeing the future, and invariably consulted them before engaging in any enterprise of importance. The women accompanied their sons and husbands to the field; where, by their reproaches and exhortations, they often restored

the fortune of a battle, or, when it was irretrievably lost, escaped from the insults of the victor by a voluntary death. The old Germans had no towns, properly so called; but wherever a freeman found a desirable plot of ground, there he erected a hut, in which he dwelt with his wife, children, and household servants. The rest of his serfs lived in smaller huts, cultivating little patches of ground, which they held under the freeman, subject to the condition of giving him a certain portion of the produce, and of defending him against his enemies. The serfs were, for the most part, captives taken in war, who were generally treated with a paternal kindness, which rendered their slavery little more than a name. Every freeman was absolute lord within his territory, and judged, punished, and rewarded according to his own discretion. Several of these little settlements formed a mark or hamlet, which generally had a portion of common field attached to it, where the heads of families assembled once a fortnight, on the new and full moons, to settle disputes, under the presidency of a graf or count, who had the title of mark-graf (*margrave*). A number of marks composed a larger circle called a zent, the president of which was called zent-graf. Several zents formed a gau or district, which was governed by a gau-graf, who was afterwards called a land-graf (*landgrave*). The inhabitants of several gaus composed a people, governed by a kuning or *king*, who derived his title from the old German word *kuni*, family, as being the head of the great national household. The king, in those days, possessed none of the authority which belongs to the office in modern times, nor any revenues, except those which he derived, like any other proprietor, from his own possessions. His business was to assemble the heads of families, and propose to them such measures as he considered necessary for the defence or improvement of the country. If his proposition was acceptable, the people signified their approbation by clashing their arms; if, on the contrary, they were inclined to reject it, a general murmur was raised, by which they indicated their dissent. The people frequently brought the king presents of cattle or other property as marks of their respect. He was distinguished by a numerous suite of freemen as well as of slaves, had longer and more flowing hair than his subjects, and wore on his head a circlet of gold, which in later times became a crown. Every freeman was, of course, a warrior, and was expected always to have his arms in

good condition. Most of them served on foot; but they had also cavalry, mounted on small but swift and hardy horses. Their weapons were the spear and the long two-handed sword; and for defence they carried on the left arm a buckler of painted wood or osier, four or five feet long, and two in breadth. Helmets and coats of mail were unknown among them until they conquered the Romans, and clothed themselves in their spoils. In some tribes every horseman had a foot soldier attached to him, who, holding by the mane, kept pace with the horse, and if the rider fell, instantly vaulted into his seat. When an expedition was decided on, the king, if competent, took the command of the whole army; otherwise a leader was chosen from the chief men (*furisten*, now modernized into *Fürsten*, *princes*), who was called *Herotoga*, *dux* or *leader* (whence the title *herzog*, *duke*). When they found themselves in presence of the enemy, it was usual to raise a sort of wild chant, which they accompanied with the music of rude trumpets and drums, and the clashing of spears and shields; and from the strength or weakness of this sound, they augured the success or failure of the attack. The whole force generally charged in the form of a wedge, with such weight and such obstinate courage, that even the disciplined legionaries of Rome were often obliged to give way.

Religion.—Concerning the religion of the ancient Germans, little is known. Their only temples were the dark recesses of the woods. Julius Cæsar tells us that they worshipped the sun, the moon, and fire, and had no distinct order of priesthood like their neighbours the Gauls. Other writers speak of a hero or demi-god named *Thuisco*, who was worshipped as the founder of the German race. From him they were known among themselves by the general appellation of *Teutsche* or *Deutsche*, which is still retained in the German language: but by the Romans they were either designated according to their tribes, or comprehended under the general name of *Germani*, the Gaulish pronunciation probably of a German word signifying warriors. We read also of a goddess named *Hertha*, or the earth, who dwelt in an island of the ocean (probably *Rügen*, in the Baltic), in a sacred grove on the borders of a lake. At certain seasons this goddess appeared for the purpose of converting mankind, and was conducted in a magnificent chariot drawn by white heifers to the shores of the lake, where her chariot and her own person were washed by the attendant priests, assisted by slaves, who were put to death

as soon as the ceremony was concluded. Their other gods were Woden, the all-good ; Thor, the god of war ; and Fria, the goddess of marriage. These three deities gave names to the days of the week,—Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday. It was also believed, that after death the departed hero entered a place called Walhalla, or the hall of the dead, where he passed the day in battle and the chase, and at night banqueted to the sound of celestial horns, those who had fallen in the combat of the day rising fresh and unwounded to join in the revelry.

CHAPTER II.

STATE OF GERMANY AT THE CLOSE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY —
INVASION OF THE HUNS—ROME TAKEN BY ALARIC—THE VANDALS
—ATILIA—ODOACER—FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE WEST.

A.D. 376 to 476.



Roman Basilica at Trèves, inside.

FROM the death of Arminius until the year 376, we find but few important facts respecting the condition of Germany. The

emperor M. Aurelius Antoninus distinguished himself by his victories over the Germans, especially by that gained over the Quadi in A.D. 174. On this occasion the Romans were assisted by a sudden and violent storm; a circumstance which gave rise to the celebrated legend of the miracle of the Thundering Legion. The emperor Probus, after delivering Gaul from a large body of German invaders, crossed the Rhine (A.D. 277) and penetrated as far as the Elbe. Such was the success which attended his arms, that he at one time contemplated reducing Germany to the state of a Roman province. But this project was abandoned, and Probus, in order to check the incursions of the barbarians, contented himself with erecting an enormous stone wall, which, from the banks of the Danube in the neighbourhood of Ratisbon, crossed the Neckar and extended to the Rhine. The emperor Julian likewise distinguished himself (A.D. 355 and following years) by his victories over the Germans, who early in his reign had invaded Gaul in great numbers, and burnt or destroyed forty-five flourishing cities.

Hitherto the movements of the Germans had consisted only of transient inroads into the Roman provinces, or changes of locality among their own tribes, who were constantly shifting their seats. But towards the end of the fourth century, the growing weakness of the Roman empire first encouraged them to begin those successful invasions which resulted in their forming settlements in the conquered countries, and in the organization of new kingdoms, which laid the foundations of the present political state of Europe. At that time the Germans had formed themselves into the following principal tribes or nations :—

1. The Saxons, a piratical race seated near the mouth of the Elbe in the modern Holstein, but who afterwards spread themselves over a considerable part of northern Germany. It was this people whom the British king Vortigern called in to assist him against the Picts and Scots, who had taken advantage of the withdrawal of the Roman troops to invade the southern parts of Britain. In the year 449, a body of Saxons under Hengist and Horsa landed in Britain, where they established themselves after driving out the Picts. The island subsequently obtained the name of England from the Angles, one of the Saxon tribes.

2. South and west of the Saxons, between the Weser and the Lower Rhine, dwelt the Franks, or *Free-men*, a powerful and

warlike race, who subsequently gave their name to the kingdom of France, still called by the Germans *Frankreich*, or *Kingdom of the Franks*.

3. In central Germany, in the tract comprised between the Rhine, the Main, and the Danube, were seated the *Alemanni*, a confederate nation organized at the beginning of the third century by the Suevi, one of the most warlike races of ancient Germany, who had allied themselves with other tribes for the purpose of mutual defence, as well as of plunder and invasion. From this mixture they derived their name of *Alemanni*, from the German *alle Männer* (*all men*), and which is still preserved in the French name for the whole of Germany (*Allemagne*).

4. Eastwards of these nations lay the Goths and Vandals. The Goths are first mentioned in history in the reign of the Emperor Decius, A.D. 250, when they crossed the Danube and invaded the Roman provinces. They came originally from Scandinavia, and were probably the parent stock of the various Teutonic tribes. They were divided into Ostrogoths, Visigoths, and Gepidæ. The terms *ostro* and *visi* (east and west) denoted their relative position in their Scandinavian fatherland; and these appellations were retained through all their subsequent migrations. They had crossed the Baltic and established themselves near the mouth of the Vistula at least as early as the Christian era. Westward of the Goths, the Vandals or Wends were spread along the banks of the Oder, and the coast of Pomerania and Mecklenburg. The Goths and Vandals were originally one people. The latter were divided into various tribes, of which the Burgundians, the Langobardi or Lombards, and the Heruli are the most noted. The Burgundians, being driven from their ancient seats by the Gepidæ, migrated farther south, and settled themselves, about the middle of the fourth century, on both sides of the Elbe, in the countries which afterwards became Thuringia and Alsatia. Hence they subsequently penetrated into Gaul and founded the kingdom of Burgundy. At the time of which we are speaking the Lombards still dwelt in the modern Brandenburg. They afterwards migrated southwards, and, towards the close of the sixth century, crossed the Alps and founded the kingdom of Lombardy.

Such was the state of Germany about the end of the fourth century. All that part of modern Germany which had fallen under the Roman dominion, was bounded by the Rhine and

Danube, and by the wall with which Probus had connected those two rivers. The right bank of the Danube was divided into four Roman provinces:—1. Rhætia, the capital of which was Augusta Vindelicorum, now Augsburg. 2. Noricum lay to the eastward of Rhætia. Its principal city was Juvavia (Salzburg). 3. Pannonia, with its capital Juliobona (Vienna); and, 4. Mœsia. The left bank of the Rhine was also divided into four provinces:—1. Helvetia, now Switzerland. 2. Germanica Prima, with its two cities, Morgantia (Mentz or Mayence) and Argentoratum (Strasbourg). 3. Germanica Secunda, with its cities of Colonia Agrippinæ (Cöln or Cologne), Confluentes (Coblentz), Bonna (Bonn), and Aquæ (Aachen, or Aix-la-Chapelle). 4. Belgica, with its capital Augusta Trevirorum (Trier or Trèves).

The origin of those successful attacks of the German races upon the Roman territory, which resulted in the overthrow of the Western Empire, may be traced to an invasion of Germany itself by a tribe still more barbarous than its inhabitants. The Goths, who by the beginning of the third century had spread themselves along the eastern boundaries of Germany as far south as the Euxine, and to whom in the year 272 the Emperor Aurelian had ceded the whole province of Dacia, were themselves attacked, in the year 376, by a barbarous people called Huns. The Goths were at this time ruled by their great king, Hermanric, whose conquests had consolidated their empire, and whose dominions extended from the Baltic to the Danube. The Huns are described by contemporary historians as men of low stature, thick-set, with broad shoulders, flat noses, small eyes, yellow complexion, short thick necks, and prominent cheek-bones. In their ancient country, on the Steppes, or boundless plains, which lie between Russia and China, they led a wandering life, dwelling in tents, and changing their situation as often as fresh pasture was required for their cattle. Their hideous ugliness (for an ancient writer compares them to wild beasts on two legs, or the rudely carved posts or *termini* of a bridge), their countless numbers, and the skill with which they managed their horses, and threw the javelin, rendered them more formidable to the Germans than even the disciplined, but less ferocious, legionaries of Rome. The Goths, after twice beating back the invaders, were defeated in a third battle and almost annihilated. Of the warriors who escaped, some took refuge in the mountains, and others threw themselves on the protection of the Emperor Valens, imploring him to give

them lands on the other side of the Danube, where they might be safe from their terrible enemy. //

Valens granted their request, on condition of their laying down their arms and engaging to pay honestly for all the provisions which they might consume. Unfortunately, however, the commissioners appointed to see this contract duly performed, not content with stripping the exiles of their property, treated their wives and children with such revolting cruelty, that the Goths, unable to restrain their fury at the sight of these enormities, resolved to resist at all hazards. During the first confusion a great number of them had crossed the river armed; the rest soon resumed their weapons, and the united army of the eastern and western Goths marched through the country to the city of Adrianople, whence they were repulsed without much difficulty; but in the year 378 they joined their ancient enemies the Huns, and overthrew the Romans in a bloody engagement, during which the unfortunate Emperor was burnt to death in a cottage, where he had taken refuge, after receiving a severe wound.

A few years later, we find the Visigoths, who had quarrelled with the Ostrogoths and Huns, forming a close alliance with the Romans, serving in their armies, but subject to their own leaders and their own laws. In the year of our Lord 395, the Roman empire was divided between the two sons of the Emperor Theodosius, the one reigning in Italy, the other at Constantinople.

Among the Goths at the court of the eastern Emperor was a young warrior, named Alaric (German *Al-ric*, i. e. "Allrich"), whom his countrymen had elected to be the general of their forces. In the year 409 Alaric, who at the close of the preceding century had been compelled to abandon his conquests in Peloponnesus by a Vandal chief, named Stilicho, commander of the imperial forces at Constantinople, and who had subsequently been foiled by the same general in an attempt on the territories of the western empire, entered Italy, for the second time, at the head of a numerous army, and without troubling himself about the western Emperor Honorius, who was shut up in the strong fortress of Ravenna, marched at once to Rome, and summoned the city to surrender. The Romans sued for peace: but Alaric replied that the only conditions on which he could spare the city were, that he should receive 5000 pounds weight of gold, 30,000 pounds of silver, and a proportionate quantity of the various articles of value with which Rome was filled. The Romans

remonstrated—"Such a sacrifice would beggar us," they said: "what should we have left?" "Your lives," retorted the Goth. "We are still numerous," said they in a threatening tone. "Come out then," was the stern reply; "the thicker the grass, the more easily it is mown." Finding remonstrance and threats equally fruitless, the Romans at length consented to pay the required sum; and Alaric, true to his promise, having withdrawn his troops without committing any act of violence, proceeded at once to Ravenna; but finding that city impregnable, he soon raised the siege, and a second time appeared before the walls of Rome.

There is a story of his having sent three hundred Germans in the garb of slaves as presents to the principal Romans; and that these men opened the gates of the city to their countrymen. Be this as it may, it is certain that in the night of the 23rd of August, 409, Rome for the first time since the days of Brennus (B.C. 390) saw barbarians within her walls, not in the character of prisoners dragged in chains to feast wild beasts in the amphitheatre, or slaughter one another in the bloody sports of the arena, but as conquerors, burning to avenge on Rome the injuries which they had suffered at her hands. Yet the Goths behaved with greater moderation than could have been reasonably expected, for the lives of those who were unable to defend themselves were spared; and, contrary to the anticipations of the Romans, their city was not set on fire. | \

From Rome Alaric marched into southern Italy, where he embarked for Africa. But his fleet was wrecked at Messina during a violent storm, and he himself soon afterwards died suddenly in the thirty-fourth year of his age. He was buried in the channel of the river Bassano; and as soon as the body was lowered into the grave, the stream, which had been previously diverted from its course, rushed back into its ancient bed; and at the same moment the prisoners who had been employed in the work were put to death, that no record might remain of the burial-place of Alaric.

The Visigoths soon found a new leader in Alaric's brother-in-law Ataulf, or Adolphus, who, having married the Emperor's sister, withdrew his troops from Italy, and passing into Gaul founded a new kingdom (of which Thoulouse was the capital) in that country and Spain.

In the mean time another German nation, the Vandals, taking

advantage of the imperial forces being withdrawn from Spain for the protection of Italy, had been establishing settlements, in conjunction with other tribes, on the banks of the Ebro, and in the south-western portion of the Peninsula. In the year 429 these Vandals, under the command of their prince Geiseric, or Genseric, being invited into Africa by the treacherous Roman governor, easily made themselves masters of that province, and established the seat of government at Carthage, whence they despatched fleets to ravage the coasts both of Italy and Spain. In the year 455 Genseric landed in Italy and took Rome: but, instead of destroying the city, he contented himself with sending off all its treasures to adorn his new capital,* and soon afterwards returned to Africa, where he died in extreme old age, A.D. 478.

About the middle of the fifth century, Attila or Etzel, a renowned warrior, who had drawn to his standard not only the whole of the Huns, but a considerable portion of the eastern Germanic tribes, declared war against the Ostrogoths, and defeated them (A.D. 449) in a series of battles of which we have but imperfect accounts. The following year he attacked Constantinople, and the city was only saved by the prudence of the Emperor's mother, who bribed him with a large sum to withdraw his army. Then the Huns marched into Gaul, where they were routed with great slaughter by the united forces of the Goths and Romans under Theodoric and Ætius: but the following year they crossed the Alps, and took the town of Aquileia, the inhabitants of which fled to the swampy islands at the mouth of the Brenta, and founded the city of Venice.

After these conquests, Attila ("the scourge of God," as he was named by the affrighted Romans) was preparing to march upon Rome, but was diverted from that purpose partly by his superstitious fears, and partly, perhaps, by the diseases that wasted his army. As he lay encamped on the banks of the Mincius, near the spot where it enters lake Benacus (Lago di Garda), he was visited by an embassy from Rome, headed by Leo, surnamed the *Great*, the bishop of that city. Preceded by the emblem of our redemption, and followed by a long train of priests clothed in their sacerdotal robes, and chanting the penitential psalms, Leo entered the tent of Attila, and pleaded the

* Very little of this booty reached the African shore, most of the ships, laden with the noblest works of Greek and Roman art, having foundered at sea.

cause of Rome so eloquently, that the barbarian monarch not only consented to spare Rome, but to evacuate Italy. An ecclesiastical legend accounts for the prodigy by stating that whilst the bishop spoke the forms of the apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, appeared in glory behind him, and threatened Attila with instant death if he refused to listen to the prayers of their successor.

Soon after this event Attila died, and was buried with great pomp, his body being enclosed in a golden coffin, which was placed in one of silver, and that again in a large chest of iron. His whole army followed the corpse of their leader; but when they came near to the place of burial, the body, like that of Alaric, was consigned to slaves, who were put to death as soon as they had interred it.

Meanwhile the western throne of the Cæsars was tottering to its fall. Goths and Vandals had stormed and sacked the imperial city. Germans had set up and deposed her emperors at their pleasure. She had had nine rulers in twenty-one years. The people, therefore, broken in spirit, and long accustomed to submission, made little resistance, when in the year 476 the sceptre was wrested from the feeble hands of Romulus Augustulus by a soldier of fortune, named Odoacer, who commanded the German mercenaries in the imperial service. Like the body of one worn out by age, the empire of the west sank into the grave almost without a struggle.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER II.

Conversion of the Goths. Bishop Ulphilas.—In their Scandinavian fatherland the religion of the Goths resembled that of the other Teutonic races. Their three principal divinities were Odin (Woden), the god of war; Frigga, or Freya, his wife, the Venus of the north; and Thor, who resembled the Roman Jupiter in his functions of presiding over the elements and seasons. At Upsal, in Sweden, a vast temple consecrated to these divinities contained their characteristic symbols. Odin delighted in human blood, and near Upsal was a wood filled with the bodies of men and animals that had fallen in his sacrifices. The temple at Upsal was in existence till the end of the eleventh century, when it was destroyed by Ingo, king of Sweden. The

conquests of the Goths in the third century, by bringing them in contact with the Christians in the eastern provinces of Rome, were the means of their conversion. They were the first of the Teutonic races to embrace Christianity, which they had adopted at least as early as, if not before, the conversion of Constantine, for Gothic bishops attended the Council of Nice (A.D. 325). Ulphilas, who has been called the bishop and apostle of the Goths, extended and consolidated the Christian faith amongst them by his translation of the Scriptures into the Mæso-Gothic tongue, about A.D. 360. This version, the oldest specimen of any Teutonic dialect, is still preserved in the Codex Argenteus, or Silver Manuscript, now in the University library at Upsal, whither it was brought from Prague by General Königsmark. in the year 1648. It is written in silver letters on a purple ground. In order to accomplish this translation, Ulphilas was obliged to compose an alphabet, and to invent four new letters to express those sounds of the Gothic tongue for which there was no equivalent in the Greek and Roman alphabets. The appearance of the Gospel was, however, the signal for persecution. The chief Athanaric caused a waggon, containing an image of Thor or Woden, to be conducted through the Gothic villages and encampments, and they who refused to fall down and worship were burnt in their tents together with their wives and children. Nevertheless, Christianity continued to spread among the Gothic and Vandalic tribes, and was soon adopted by all the German nations, with the exception of the Franks and Saxons. Unfortunately, however, Ulphilas had imbibed the heresy of Arius, who taught that Christ being begotten was not in all respects equal to the Father.

Personal Appearance and Character of Attila.—If we may believe the historians of that day, the conqueror of Rome was scarcely less ugly than the generality of his countrymen; the large-headed, flat-nosed, small-eyed, broad-shouldered savages, whom Ammianus Marcellinus compared to beasts walking on two legs, or the grinning heads carved on the posts of bridges. But the consciousness of his power imparted even to this uncouth form a dignified bearing, before which men quailed whenever he rolled his wild eyes fiercely around, as if he delighted in witnessing the terror which his looks inspired. The rude people among whom he dwelt had for ages been accustomed to worship the god of war, under the symbolic form of a sword: and one day

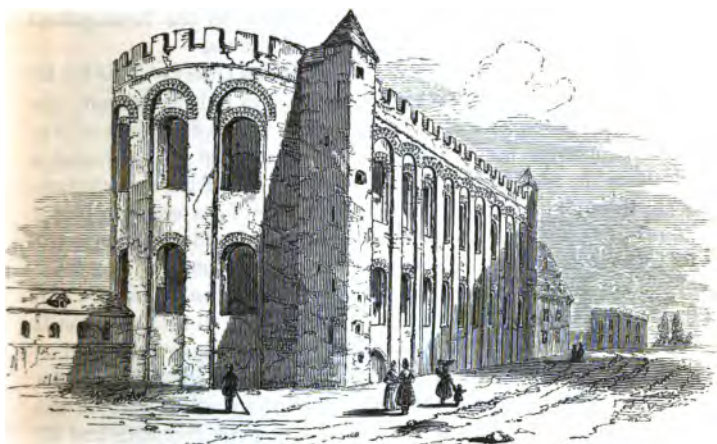
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an old rusty scimitar having been brought him by a herdsman, whose cow had been wounded by its point, as it lay concealed in the long grass, Attila, with ready tact, placed the weapon on a lofty altar, and, summoning the people, proclaimed himself possessor of the sword of Mars, and sovereign lord of the whole earth. So great was the influence which he acquired over his countrymen, by thus investing himself with a sacred character, that the boldest of them were unable to gaze steadily on his countenance; and the wild hordes followed him to the field with the confidence of men who believed that they were led to battle by the earthly representative of their god. He was accustomed to boast that where his horse trod the grass never grew. His end was fearful. He had retired to rest at a late hour, flushed with wine, according to the custom of the Huns; and on the following day was found by his attendants struggling in the agonies of death, an artery having burst, which sent forth streams of blood from his nostrils and mouth. The body was exhibited to the people lying in state under a canopy of silk; whilst the soldiers of the guard marched solemnly round the bier, chanting a funeral hymn to the memory of their leader, and gashing their faces with knives. No sooner, however, was his corpse laid in the earth, than their mourning was followed by a scene of gross and riotous intemperance. /'

Antiquities of Trèves.—The Roman Basilica.—These ruins possess a peculiar interest, as being, according to the German architect Schmidt, the only remains of a Roman basilica which have not either been deprived in a great measure of their original architectural character by the changes necessary for their adaptation to purposes of Christian worship, or suffered so grievously from the ravages of time and violence as to be incapable of restoration. Before the recognition of Christianity by the Emperor Constantine, these buildings, which were originally attached to the Palaces of the Roman Emperors, were not only used as commercial halls, where merchants met to transact business, but also as courts of justice; and for both these purposes were divided into two parts, the common hall where the people congregated, and the tribunal, a semicircle or apse, at the extremity of which was placed the judge's throne. In churches constructed after the pattern of the basilica, the altar stands in the apse, on the spot occupied by the judge's throne in days of heathenism. As far as we can conjecture from a comparison of the ruins that

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remain, with the architectural treatise of Vitruvius, they seem to have consisted sometimes of a single nave, but more frequently of a nave and two side-aisles, with galleries above them supporting a second row of pillars, which reached to the roof of the building. The basilica of Trèves, with the exception of its foundation, which is of limestone, is built of bricks firmly cemented together with a very durable mortar composed of lime and sand, in which are imbedded fragments of tile. The form of the building is oblong, with a large tribunal or recess for the judge's throne at one end, and at the other an entrance sufficiently wide to admit four persons abreast. There seem also to have been side doors



Roman Basilica at Trèves, Exterior.

near the tribunal, for the accommodation of the judges and advocates. From fragments of wall which are still standing it has been conjectured that the principal entrance was protected from the weather by a portico. The building contained two rows of large windows on each side, and appears, from the number of tiles dug up in the immediate neighbourhood, to have been roofed with that material. The floor of the entire nave stands on pillars of brick about two feet high and eight inches in thickness; the space between the pavement and the ground being occupied by a hypocaust, or flue constructed of large blocks of stone. The pavement was composed of strong cement, ornamented with mosaic

work of blue, yellow, and white marble. Whether the building contained any side-aisles or not cannot be ascertained until a larger portion of it is disinterred. The entire length of it is 233 (German) feet 10 inches, its breadth 88 feet 2 inches, and its height from the floor to the roof about 98 feet. The arch of brickwork which crosses the interior between the nave and the tribunal has a span of 59 feet 3 inches. In each of the corners near the tribunal is a narrow stair leading from without to the roof of the building.

The Prussian government has lately decided that this basilica, which had been built into a palace of the Archbishops of Trèves, and more recently converted into a barrack, shall be restored to its original condition, and used as a church by the Evangelical (or reformed Lutheran) congregation of Trèves.

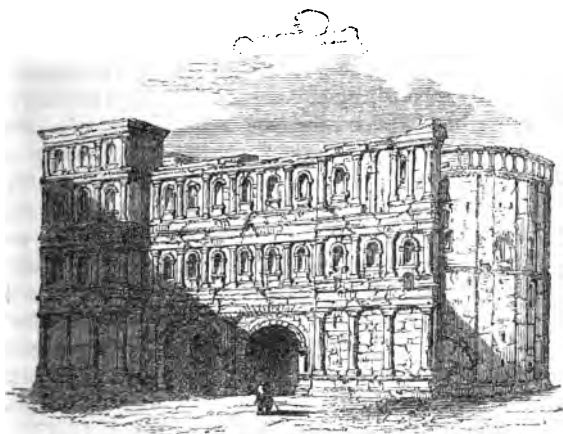
The Porta Martis, or Porta Nigra (Black Gate).—This building, which seems to have been anciently, as it is at present, one of the city gates, was also, we may suppose, used in time of war as a station for archers, who would be enabled to command a considerable portion of the wall on either side from the windows with which it is pierced. The exact date of its erection is not known, but it seems probable that, like the basilica, it was built by Constantine at the beginning of the fourth century. The front of the building is ornamented with rows of Tuscan columns. The flanks consisted of four stories, as may be seen in that which still remains complete. The lowest story seems to have been used as a prison, and the second, which is very imperfectly lighted, as a storehouse and arsenal—the quarters of the soldiers were in the third and fourth. The building is 115 English feet long and 67 feet wide in the flanks; its greatest height is 92 feet. It is constructed of huge blocks of sandstone, joined together by clamps without any cement. Each of the gateways is 14 feet wide. The grooved doorposts on each side of the arches show that they were provided with portcullises which might be lowered or drawn up at pleasure; and, if necessary, the defences might be further strengthened by large beams of wood inserted in the grooves behind the portcullises. At the beginning of the eleventh century, Simeon, a Greek monk, who had accompanied Poppo, Archbishop of Trèves, on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, established himself in one of the side towers of the Porta Nigra, where he led a life of sanctity and rigid self-denial for seven years. After his death and canonization by Pope Benedict IX.,

the building, in which his remains were deposited, was consecrated by Archbishop Poppo, and dedicated to St. Simeon. A semicircular apse was added at one end of the Roman edifice, and three churches constructed in it, one above the other, the entrance being by a flight of steps outside. In the year 1817 the rubbish which had obstructed the entrance for nearly eight hundred years, was removed by command of the Prussian government, and the building, being divested of its ecclesiastical character, was restored, as far as possible, to its original condition. //

CHAPTER III.

ODOACER DEPRIVED OF THE ROMAN CROWN BY THEODORIC—CONQUESTS AND DEATH OF THEODORIC—CHLODWIG OR CLOVIS, FIRST KING OF THE FRANKS—DESTRUCTION OF THE GOTHIC EMPIRE IN ITALY—BELISARIUS—VITIGIS—TOTILA—NARSES—KINGDOM OF THE LOMBARDS ESTABLISHED IN ITALY.

From A.D. 482 to 625.



The Black Gate at Trèves. (*See page 20.*)

THE new Roman dynasty had continued twelve years, when Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths (surnamed the Great), invaded Italy (A.D. 488); and having conquered Odoacer at Aquileia and

Verona, erected in 493 a mighty sovereignty, called the empire of the Ostrogoths, which, besides including Italy and Sicily, extended northwards as far as the Rhine and Danube, and eastwards to the borders of Macedonia and Dacia. But for one foul act, the murder of Odoacer, as they sat together at table, Theodoric would not be altogether unworthy of the praises bestowed on him by the chroniclers of his reign; for, during a peace of thirty years, he promoted agriculture and trade, and even began the herculean task of draining the Pontine Marshes—a work which he personally inspected from a high tower in the neighbourhood of Terracina. Cassiodorus and Boëthius, the last two writers who can pretend to a place in the literature of ancient Rome, were among his ministers. In the year 526 Theodoric died—of horror, it is said, at the sight of a fish's head, which recalled to his mind the cruel execution of one of his counsellors. The Italian legends represent his soul as dwelling in the fires of Mount Etna.

Meanwhile, in western Germany the nation of the Franks was rapidly rising into power and importance. The tribes of this widely-extended people had been governed, each by its own petty sovereign or chief, until the year 420, when all the minor clans were merged into the two great divisions of *Salii* and *Ripuarii*. The former were governed by the *Salique* law, and among them the succession to the throne was limited to males: though not, as is commonly supposed, by any express provision of that code. From *Merowig* or *Meroveus*, the reputed descendant of a perhaps fabulous monarch named *Pharamond*, the royal family were called *Merovingians*. Towards the end of the fifth century, a descendant of this monarch named *Chlodwig* or *Clovis*, a man naturally ambitious, and not very scrupulous as to the means which he employed for attaining his objects, having conceived the design of subjugating the whole of Germany, commenced his operations by expelling the Romans from *Soissons*, where a remnant of their former empire still lingered under the government of a *pro-consul*. Then he compelled the *Thuringians* to pay tribute; and overthrew the *Alemanni* at *Zülpich* after a fierce struggle (A.D. 496), in the midst of which *Clovis*, who was yet a heathen, made a vow that he would renounce idolatry if the God of the Christians could prove himself mightier than *Odin*, who fought on the side of the *Alemanni*. In fulfilment of this vow the Frankish monarch soon afterwards received the sacrament of baptism from the hands of *Remigius*, Bishop of

Rheims, who addressed him in these words, "Bow down thy neck, O Sicambrian, and pray to that which thou didst burn, and burn that to which thou didst formerly pray." But the religion which Clovis now professed, so far from restraining his ambition, seemed rather to furnish him with an excuse for fresh acts of violence. Under the cloak of zeal for the orthodox faith, he invaded the country of the Visigoths, whose adherence to the heresy of Arius had rendered them odious to the Bishops of the Catholic church; and after an obstinate engagement in the neighbourhood of Poitiers, compelled them to acknowledge him as their sovereign. Burgundy, which he could not entirely subdue, was rendered tributary to the Franks; his old ally, Siegebert of Cologne, treacherously murdered, and another prince degraded to the condition of a subject by being shorn of the long locks which in those days were the indispensable ornament of royal heads. By these and similar unscrupulous means, Clovis became in a short time sole monarch of the Frankish nation, which, increased as it was by his former conquests, now embraced the whole of Gaul and a considerable portion of Germany. He died in the year 511, leaving four sons, among whom he divided his empire by will; the eldest, Thierry, receiving the largest portion, which was named Austrasia, and the remaining three parts, comprehended under the name of Neustria, being assigned to the three younger sons, who established their respective seats of empire at Orleans, Paris, and Soissons.

The Ostrogothic king, Theodoric, had endeavoured to conciliate the German tribes by the matrimonial alliances which he formed with them. He had himself married the sister of Clovis; his two daughters were united to the kings of the Visigoths and the Burgundians; his sister he gave in marriage to the king of the Vandals; his niece to Hermanfried, the last king of the Thuringians. The death of Theodoric dissolved these bonds of union; a circumstance of which the Greek emperor Justinian was not slow to take advantage. Under pretence of avenging the murder of Theodoric's daughter Amalasontha, whom Theodotus, the Gothic Emperor, had caused to be smothered in a bath, Justinian sent into Italy an army commanded by Belisarius, a general who had already signalized himself by the conquest of the Vandals in Africa. As soon as he appeared in Southern Italy, the timid Theodotus resigned his crown. The Goths then held a solemn assembly, at which Vitigis was elected to the vacant throne, and

elevated on a shield, according to the old German custom. In the mean time the Romans had opened their gates to Belisarius. Suddenly Vitigis appeared with his whole force before the city, and summoned it to surrender, endeavouring at the same time to scale the walls by means of wooden towers which he had prepared for the purpose ; but Belisarius baffled all his attempts, showering on the heads of the assailants a storm of missiles, among which were hundreds of the most beautiful statues. Both besiegers and besieged fought with such fury, that in one sally of Belisarius 30,000 Goths are reported to have fallen. Meanwhile the lieutenant of Belisarius, who had received orders to assail the Goths in the rear, marched to the attack of Ravenna, the Gothic capital, having on his way taken Rimini, and placed a garrison in Milan. On receiving intelligence of these movements, Vitigis set fire to his camp, and proceeded by forced marches to Rimini, which was now occupied by the lieutenant of Belisarius ; but failing in all his attempts to draw the enemy out of his stronghold, the Gothic general marched to Milan, put to death the inhabitants of that place to the number of 300,000, because they had admitted a Greek garrison, and divided their spoil among his Burgundian auxiliaries.

But the appearance of Belisarius once more changed the aspect of affairs. Worn out by the protracted war, and hopeless of success against a general whose victories had hitherto been uninterrupted, the Goths themselves proposed that Belisarius should reign over them : an offer of which he was too faithful a subject to avail himself further than to obtain the deposition of Vitigis, and the surrender of Ravenna. The wives of the men who had thus betrayed their country spat in the faces of their husbands through sheer disgust at this cowardly surrender. Happily for the remnant of the Goths, Belisarius was at this crisis recalled, and Totila, a brave and successful leader, being elected to the imperial throne, proceeded at once to Southern Italy and stormed Naples. Belisarius had in the mean time returned with a fresh army from Greece, and taken possession of Rome ; but the intrigues of his enemies at the court of the Eastern Emperor forced him again to retire to Constantinople, leaving all Italy at the mercy of Totila, who now took Rome by storm, and having overthrown the united forces of the Greeks and Romans near Ravenna, made himself master of all the Italian towns except Ancona. //

Justinian now sent a fresh army into Italy under the command

of the eunuch Narses, who completely routed the Gauls in an engagement which lasted two days in the neighbourhood of Rimini. Totila, pierced by a lance, rode more than ten miles, and then fell dead from his horse. The Goths now elected Totila's general Teias to be their king. He proved their last. After various combats, in which the Goths fought with all the courage of despair, and in which they were assisted by some large bodies of Franks and Alemanni, they were so nearly exterminated that only about 7000 remained, who submitted and were incorporated into the imperial body guard.

The dominion of the Eastern Emperor in Italy seemed now fully restored. He was represented there by the exarchs of Ravenna, of whom Narses was the first and the most powerful : but the pride and folly of a woman were destined to throw all again into confusion. The reign of Narses was oppressive and unpopular. He was recalled ; but in the mandate for that purpose the Empress Sophia thought proper to insult him. In derision of his little feeble figure she told him that he had better exchange the sword for the distaff. " If I do," replied the spirited commander, " I will spin your Majesty a thread of which you will not easily find the end." In the first transport of indignation at this unseemly insult, Narses despatched a messenger to Alboin, King of the Lombards, inviting him into Italy ; a proposal which was readily accepted, and in a very short time an enormous army was concentrated on the banks of the Po. With a severity very opposite to the moderation of the Goths, Alboin deprived the Romans of all their lands, and reduced them to the lowest state of vassalage, so that, as an historian remarks, they who had refused to be the brethren of the Goths, were now fain to content themselves with being slaves of the Lombards. But the tyrant's career was speedily terminated. He had slain Cunimund, King of the Gepidæ, and made a cup of his skull, out of which he compelled his wife Rosamond, a daughter of the murdered man, to drink a large draught of wine. For this outrage the Queen vowed deadly vengeance ; and the same night, whilst Alboin lay in the deep sleep of intoxication, an armed man approached his bed and made a thrust at him with a dagger. The unfortunate monarch instantly started up and sought for his sword, but it had been removed by the Queen, and after a desperate struggle he fell dead beneath the repeated blows of his murderer. His wife and her accomplice now fled together to Ravenna, where she

administered poison to the miserable instrument of her revenge; but the man, discovering her intention after he had swallowed a portion of the draught, compelled her to drink the rest, and they died together. Alboin was succeeded on the throne by Antharis, and he by his widow Theodolinda, a lady of great merit, who died in 625. The new kingdom of Lombardy has been called the leg in the boot of Italy, extending as it did the whole length of the land from South Tyrol and Savoy to Benevento,—and comprising all the cities; except Ravenna, Rome, and Naples, which remained in the hands of the Greeks under the name of an exarchate.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER III.

Review of the Condition of Germany during the first six centuries after the birth of Christ.—Since the first great movement of the Huns in 376 the Germans had been gradually extending themselves over other parts of Europe, and even along the coasts of Africa. Besides Italy, France, Spain, England, and the shores of Barbary had all received Germans as colonists or conquerors, had adopted in a great measure their manners and institutions, and engrafted on the Latin tongue (which, more or less corrupt, was the language of most of the provinces of Rome) a mixed dialect, the foundation of the modern French, Spanish, and Italian languages. About the year 500 the kingdom of Thuringia was a powerful independent sovereignty, which was afterwards overthrown by the sons of Clovis; but the Saxons and Frieses (who by these changes had been enabled to spread themselves farther south, and occupy the country between the mouth of the Rhine and that of the Elbe) retained their independence many centuries longer. In southern Germany, the Suevi had united with the Alemanni under the name of Swabians, and penetrated into Helvetia and Rhætia, where they were afterwards called Swiss. The Boii had settled in Bavaria (German, *Bayern*). The Scлавonians (known to the ancients under the name of Sarmatæ) occupied many districts of eastern Germany,—their language and religion separating them from the Germans, with whom to the present hour they have never been thoroughly incorporated. In the sixth and seventh centuries they were in possession of Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Brandenburg, Meissen, Silesia, Bohemia, Moravia, Styria, Carinthia, and two or three other districts: in all which countries a few of their descendants

remain to this day. In those districts on the Rhine and Danube which belonged to the Romans there had sprung up a number of free cities, in which Roman luxury, the Roman tongue, and Roman laws, reigned without a rival.

Whenever the Germans conquered a fresh territory, the whole, or more generally a portion of it, was divided by lot between the King and his followers; of whom the more powerful received the larger share: but as the influence of the chiefs not unfrequently ended with the campaign, they devised a means of retaining their authority by presenting their followers with small portions of land, which they were permitted to retain as long as they remained faithful vassals and servants of their lord. This practice, introduced by the more powerful chiefs, was imitated by others on a smaller scale: so that at length the country was split into a multitude of little independent sovereignties. But the bad effects of this feudal system were overlooked for the sake of the military spirit which it fostered. The ministers or household servants of the king were the Mareschalk, or groom, the Truchsetz, sewer or dish-setter, the Kämmerer, or chamberlain, the Hausmeier, major-domo, or steward, &c. These were at first menial servants, and really performed the offices which their names import. In process of time, however, as wealth and luxury increased, these servants became high and dignified officers, although they continued to bear their original titles. Thus at the coronation of Otho I., in the tenth century, two dukes officiated as grand sewer and grand marshal, or master of the horse.

Great improvements had taken place during the period which we have mentioned, in the mode of legislation. In the earlier times the German tribes knew no laws but those of usage: by degrees, however, written codes were introduced, composed in Latin or German. The Salian code, as published by Clovis, was in German; but it is now extant only in Latin. The relations between freemen and serfs, Germans and Romans, were distinctly defined. Every injury, from an insulting word to murder itself, had its suitable penalty: thus he who stole a pig was fined fifteen shillings, and the murderer of a serf thirty-five: but the slaughter of a freeman could not be expiated for a less sum than three hundred shillings. The use of scurrilous language subjected him who employed it to penalties varying from three to six shillings. The solidus, or shilling, was the price of a cow, but it is of course impossible to ascertain its actual value in English money.

The Salian Franks divided it into forty denarii, or pence, and the Ripuarii into twelve. If a criminal was unable to pay the fine, he swore that he did not possess sufficient property either *on* the earth or *under* the earth, and made over his estate and debt to his relations by taking a handful of dust from each of the four corners, and throwing it on them. He then stripped himself to his under garment, and with a staff in his hand went to the limits of his property. After this ceremony, the relations became responsible for payment of the fine : but if they also were unable to discharge it, the culprit was put to death. Among the Ripuarian Franks the transfer of lands or houses was accompanied by a curious ceremony, which has been observed in our own country* within the memory of man. The purchaser, attended by three, six, or twelve witnesses, according to the value of the property, and the same number of boys, proceeded to the ground, and having paid down the stipulated sum in presence of his witnesses, administered a cuff to each of the youths; and pulled his ears, as the best mode of impressing the transaction on his memory. All trials were conducted publicly before a jury of persons of like degree with the accused. Cases, however, might sometimes occur, in which, although strong suspicion rested on an individual, it was impossible to prove his guilt by evidence. Under such circumstances the suspected person was required to purify himself by oath, in which he was often joined by his friends, who were styled *consacramentales*; or by the ordeal, in which the gods were supposed to declare the guilt or innocence of the accused. He who could handle red-hot iron without injury, or withdraw his hand unscalded from a cauldron of boiling water, or conquer his accuser in single combat, was declared innocent of the crime imputed to him. Other tests, such as the partaking of the consecrated wafer, which a guilty man, it was believed, could not swallow without bursting, were introduced after the conversion of the people to Christianity.

In all the German kingdoms, general assemblies of the people were held under different names. Thus, among the Anglo-Saxons, they were termed Wittenangemots (councils of the wise), and among the Franks, Märzfelder (fields of March), because they were held in the open fields in that month. At these

* Persons now, or very lately, alive in Berkshire have told me that they well remembered the ear-pullings inflicted on them by their fathers when they made a purchase of land.

meetings questions of war and peace were debated ; and in the event of the former being voted, the Heerbann or general militia of the kingdom was called out by the king, every male being required to appear at an appointed place armed and equipped for the campaign. In the field, the inhabitants of each duchy and county were marshalled under the banner of their duke or count, the whole being under the command of the king. These expeditions were called by the Anglo-Saxons " Land-fyrd," and naval armaments " Scypp-fyrd."

Literature.—The ancient Germans, especially the Gothic and Scandinavian tribes, possessed a kind of writing called *Runes*. These characters were engraved on stone or wood, particularly that of the box-tree, called in German *Buch* ;—a name still preserved in that language, as well as in its English derivative, to signify *a book*. Runes were used in divination, and hence came to be regarded by the vulgar as connected with witchcraft. This mode of writing was superseded by the alphabet of Ulphilas already mentioned. It was long, however, before writing came into general use, and hence, like other nations, the Germans possessed in early times no other literature than songs and poems, which were employed in celebrating the gods and recording the deeds of heroes. The rugged and savage tribes of the north had a great sensibility for the charms of poetry and music. It is related that a famous bard once came to the court of a northern king, and sang in his hall a song which caused the whole company to dance and caper with merriment. A second song threw them all into tears. But a more striking, though dreadful triumph was reserved for the last effort of the bard. His third song threw them all into a frenzy, so that they fell upon and murdered one another.

In these songs alliteration and rhyme supplied the place of the rhythm, or syllabic quantity, of classical poetry ; whilst they were further distinguished from prose by the short and striking form of the sentences, and by the bold expressions and metaphors with which they were filled. In the absence of writing, alliteration, besides its use as an ornament, served to assist the memory. Thus the German laws, which, as we have said, at first were preserved only by tradition, abounded with it. Many of these alliterations are still observable in certain inseparable combinations of words which have been handed down in the German language, and even in a slighter degree in English ; as, *Dick und Dünn*, thick and thin, *Frank und Frei*, frank and free,

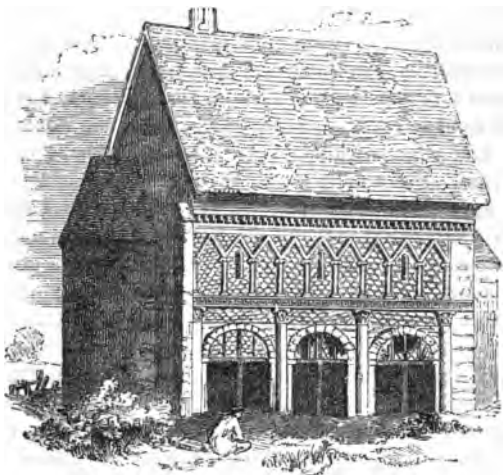
Gut und Blut, goods and blood, *Herz und Hand*, heart and hand, *Rath und That*, counsel and deed, *Stock und Block*, stock and block, &c.

Whilst literature remained in so rude a state, history was necessarily imperfect. For our knowledge of German affairs during the first five centuries we are indebted to the Byzantine historians; but they lived too far from the scene of action, and were too deeply imbued with the old contempt for barbarians, to be faithful chroniclers. Towards the close of the sixth century, however, flourished Gregory, archbishop of Tours, by birth a Frank; whose history of the Western Church, brought down to the year 591, in spite of many inaccuracies and absurd legends, is, for those days, a work of no small merit.

CHAPTER IV.

MAYORS OF THE PALACE.—PEPIN OF LANDON—PEPIN OF HERISTAL—
CHARLES MARTEL—PEPIN THE SHORT ELECTED KING OF FRANCE.

From A.D. 662 to 768.



Vestibule of the Church of Lorsch, near Darmstadt, dedicated in the presence of Charlemagne.

AFTER the death of Chlotaire (the fourth son of Clovis, who survived all his brothers and became sole monarch of France) the

kingdom was portioned out among his four sons. And now began a series of horrors in the Merovingian family too revolting for description. The two youngest had married women of the most ambitious and unscrupulous character; and for many years the struggle between these princesses, whose names were Brunehild and Fredegund, deluged the royal houses with blood. Fire and sword, dagger and poison, were employed so actively, that the two families were nearly annihilated. A pious historian of the period thought he saw in this rising up of brother against brother, and sister against sister, the fulfilment of that prophecy of our Lord which declares that such shall be the signs immediately before the coming of the last day; and a more modern writer asserts that it would be difficult to point out any period or any country in which there was more vice or less virtue than there was in France towards the end of the sixth century. At length, in her seventieth year, Brunehild received the reward of her crimes, which was as fearful as her former cruelties. Being abandoned by her people, she fell into the hands of Chlotaire II., who, after parading her on the back of a camel through his camp, tied the miserable woman to the tail of a wild horse, which dragged her over the rough ground until life was extinct. The mother of Chlotaire (Fredegund) escaped punishment in this world, and lived to see the kingdom of France reunited under her son.

The weakness and incapacity of the Frankish kings had given to certain officers of their household almost unlimited power in peace as well as in war; and this power was the more firmly maintained, as they contented themselves with the substantial authority, without laying claim to the splendour of the kingly office.

The sovereigns, indeed, were generally too happy to entrust the cares of state to an able minister, whilst they themselves did little else (according to old Gregory of Tours) but gormandize like brute beasts, except now and then signing a state paper, and exhibiting themselves in their royal robes on days of ceremony. By degrees these Mayors of the Palace (*maiores domûs*, as they are called by historians) became in France what the commanders of the Prætorian guard had been in the latter days of the Roman empire. Being generally men of talent and enterprise, and supported by the nobles, they continued to exercise sovereign authority without the name: for it was only by slow degrees, and after

the office had been a long time hereditary in one family, that the mayors of the palace possessed themselves of the title and dignity of king.

In the year 622 Chlotaire II. appointed his son Dagobert King of Austrasia, and assigned him, as his major domus, Pepin of Landon, who had already distinguished himself in the struggle against Brunehild. An attempt was made by Grimoald, the son of this Pepin, to place his own son on the throne; but, although he succeeded in deposing the king, and banishing him to a convent in Ireland, he himself with his unfortunate son was shortly afterwards murdered, and Clovis II. was elected by the clergy and vassals King of all France.

At his death, in 656, the kingdom was again divided, and many years of anarchy and bloodshed succeeded; until in 687 Pepin of Heristal, a great grandson of the first Pepin, having gained a complete victory in the battle of Testri, compelled Thierry III. to recognize him as general and governor of all France. This dignity he bequeathed to his son Charles, known in history by the surname of Martel or the Hammer. The condition of France at the accession of this renowned chief in 714 was likely to furnish full employment for all that energy both of mind and body, which he possessed in no ordinary degree. A few years before this period there had landed in Spain (by the invitation of Count Julian, whose daughter had been seduced by Roderic the Gothic king) a horde of Saracens or Arabians from the northern coast of Africa. These foreigners had completely overthrown the Visigoths in a bloody battle at Xeres de la Frontera, and founded an independent kingdom in the south of Spain. In the year 732 there dwelt on the frontiers of France and Spain a chieftain named Duke Eudo of Aquitania, who had long cherished hopes of becoming an independent sovereign. The Neustrians and Austrasians being at this time at variance, Eudo conceived the idea of calling in the Moors to assist him in the conquest of France; and as a pledge of his sincerity, gave his daughter to one of their princes named Muñoz: but as soon as Abder-haman, the Moorish commander-in-chief, saw her, he overwhelmed her father with reproaches for having given so fair a maiden to a subject, instead of reserving her for the harem of the Caliph; ordered the right hand of Muñoz to be cut off, as unworthy to touch her, and sent the lady under an escort to Damascus. The outraged father took the field with an army,

but being defeated on the banks of the river Garonne, no choice remained to him but to seek the protection of Charles Martel. The cause was that of Christendom, for the followers of Mohammed openly declared that the object of all their campaigns was to plant the crescent, at whatever cost of blood and suffering, on the ruins of the cross of Christ. Austrasians, Netherlanders, the dwellers on the Rhine, Thuringians, Swabians, Bavarians, and even Lombards from beyond the Alps, flocked to the standard of Charles.

In the year 732 the two armies met between Tours and Poitiers, and a fierce engagement began. The Frankish warriors, particularly those of the north, nobly sustained the old German reputation. In vain did squadron after squadron of the fierce Moors, mounted on the fleet horses of Barbary, and shrieking their war-cry of "Allah and Mohammed!" rush to the charge, reckless of death, as those who believed that eternal happiness would be the lot of all who should die in battle against the Christians. The Franks, better armed and more thoroughly disciplined, mowed them down like grass. The Moorish general Abder-haman fell; and it is said that 375,000 Saracens were left with him dead on the field. Christendom was saved, and the barbarians retreated hastily across the Pyrenees. It was in this battle that Charles obtained his surname of Martel from the fury with which his heavy iron mace *hammered* down the Saracens. Six years later the Moors again entered France by sea, but were totally defeated in the battle of Narbonne, and never again attempted to cross the frontier.

Charles Martel died in 741, leaving two sons, Pepin the Short and Carloman, the latter of whom soon afterwards retired into a convent; when Pepin became sole major domûs of France. The royal family of that country had long since dwindled into little more than a name; but the throne was still filled by the feeble Childeric, the last representative of the line. Pepin, who had distinguished himself in a war with the Saxons, and whose sagacity as a statesman was by no means inferior to his military experience, saw that the time had now arrived for executing the plan, which his ancestor had attempted unsuccessfully, of supplanting the Merovingians, and placing his own family on the throne. In pursuance of this design, the nobility were gained over by grants of land, and the co-operation of the clergy having also been secured by promises of immunities and endowments, Pepin boldly

proposed the following question to Pope Zacharias : " Whether of the two is worthy of the title and dignity of king ; he who sits idly at home, or he who bears the burden and cares of government ? " The Pope of course pronounced in favour of Pepin, who had rescued Rome from the Lombards, and soon afterwards he was elected King of France in an assembly of the people, held at Soissons, where Clovis 266 years before had laid the foundation of this powerful monarchy in his victory over the Suessones. Thus was the family of the Merovingians supplanted by a new power, which, from Charles Martel, the father of Pepin, has been named the dynasty of the Carlovingians. The reign of Pepin the Short was signalized by the conquest of Lombardy by his son Charles. As a reward for his services, Pepin was nominated Patrician of Rome and exarch of Ravenna, with the title of Protector of the Holy City : and thus in the alliance of the temporal and spiritual powers was laid the foundation of that grievous tyranny under which Germany afterwards groaned for so many centuries. Pepin died of dropsy on the 24th September, 768, leaving behind him two sons—Carloman, who received Neustria as his portion, and Charles (afterwards known in history as Charlemagne, or Charles the Great), who inherited Austrasia. This kingdom, besides the eastern provinces of France, comprehended a great part of the Netherlands, together with Swabia and Bavaria.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER IV.

Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, born A.D. 685, died 755.—In the eighth century, missionaries from the churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland left their own shores to preach the Gospel of Christ in the forests of their ancient fatherland. Through their labours the images of Woden gave place to the crucifix, and abbeys and convents rose on every side. Among these zealous champions of the truth, the most distinguished was an Anglo-Saxon monk, named Winfried, who, according to the practice of those days, was known by the monastic title of Bonifacius. On his arrival in France, he found the affairs of the church in a state of deplorable confusion. The Franks had, indeed, been long partially converted ; but heathenish ceremonies were every where intermingled with the rites of Christian worship ; the priests were so ignorant, that, far from being able to explain

the doctrines of Christianity, few of them could even read; and the bishops, who should have sustained the discipline of the church, were more inclined to play the part of temporal princes in the field of battle and at the banquet than to sustain the character of overseers over the souls of men. Having speedily ascertained that the co-operation of some higher power would be requisite, in order to enforce discipline amongst the corrupt clergy of the Frankish church, Boniface earnestly solicited the sanction of the Pope, to whom he took the following oath of obedience: "I, Bonifacius, by the grace of God bishop, do promise unto thee, St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and to thy Vicar, St. Gregory the Pope, and his successors, by the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the indivisible Trinity, and by thine own sacred body, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance unto thee, thy Vicar aforesaid, and his successors. Signed by me, Bonifacius, with mine own hand, and laid on the most sacred body of the blessed Peter; God being my witness unto this mine oath, which I promise to observe and keep." That such a step was in his judgment unavoidable, appears from his letters, in which he describes himself as being "in the situation of a mastiff, which sees the thieves and murderers breaking into his master's house; but having none to help him, can do little more than groan and growl." In an epistle to the English bishop, Daniel, he speaks also of the necessity of conciliating, not only the Pope, but the Frankish King Pepin. "Without aid from the Prince of the Franks, I can neither rule the people, nor protect the priests and deacons, monks and nuns, whom I have brought hither with me from England; nor can I without his commands, and penalties to enforce obedience unto the same, hope to put an end to their heathenish practices and sacrifices to idols." The great measure of church reform in France having been at length completed, Boniface found himself at leisure to undertake the conversion of the heathen; a work which he carried on with his accustomed energy, preaching with great zeal and effect, and stationing missionaries in all parts of Germany. Fearless of danger, he would scatter with his own hands the stones of altars, around which multitudes of howling savages were assembled to offer sacrifices to their idols; or, snatching an axe from the ministering priests, hew down some ancient tree, the dwelling, as they believed, of Woden, or Thor, or some other deity of their dark and bloody mythology. During this operation the people would gaze in stupid

astonishment on the sacrilegious stranger, expecting, as stroke after stroke fell on the trunk, that its terrible inhabitant would rush forth in a flame of fire and consume Boniface and his companions ; but when the tree at length fell, without any sign of their god's displeasure, they generally lost all confidence in his power, and listened patiently to the exhortations of the missionaries.

In the seventieth year of his age Boniface, being then Archbishop of Mentz and primate of the German church, went to preach the Gospel in Friesland, where he fell a victim to the ferocity of the people, in the year of our Lord 755. " Truly (says old Schmidt) Germany hath great cause to be thankful unto Bonifacius : for he it was who gave her instructors, not only in religion, but in the sciences ; persuaded her inhabitants to eat no more horse-flesh, laid the foundation of letters among them, and shunned not to shed his blood for their sakes." Yet, together with King Pepin, Boniface must be regarded as one of the great founders of the Papal power, and of the blind superstition by which it is supported. His favourite scheme was the union of all nations in one Christian fold, of which the bishop of Rome was to be the shepherd. The Latin language was to be exclusively used in divine service. When the enlightened Virgilius, bishop of Salzburg—whom, on account of his knowledge of astronomy, both the Pope and Boniface wanted to condemn as a magician—asked the latter whether the formula of baptism pronounced by a German priest in bad Latin like the following—" Baptizo te in nomine Patria et Filia et Spiritus Sancti "—would be valid, Boniface replied in the affirmative ; for he held that the essence of faith lay in blind and unreasoning obedience.

CHAPTER V.

CHARLEMAGNE—THE FIRST GERMANIC-ROMAN EMPEROR.

From A.D. 771 to 814.



Statue of Charlemagne.

AN accident having deprived Carloman of life in the year 771, his brother became King of all the Franks, and commenced a career of success to which history presents few parallels. To a restless activity of body, which made every hour appear tedious unless employed in combating his enemies, or in the organization of his empire at home, Charlemagne united a creative spirit, which during the forty-three years of his reign changed the condition not only of France, but of all Europe. With him closes the history of ancient Germany. All the old free states and kingdoms were incorporated into one mighty empire, and with the new name the people adopted new views and a new character. Scarcely had Charlemagne become sole sovereign, when an attempt on the part of Desiderius, King of the Lombards, to extort from the Pope the recognition of Carloman's sons, whom their uncle had deprived of Neustria, furnished him with an excuse for entering Italy by the pass of Mont Cenis, whilst his uncle Bernard attempted to cross the Alps at the spot which was then Mons Jovis, Gr.

but which has since been called after his name the Great St. Bernard. As the Frankish army advanced, the people fled for refuge into their fortified cities, whilst Desiderius, shut up in his capital of Pavia, awaited the coming of that renowned hero, the bare mention of whose name had spread such dismay among his subjects. At length Charlemagne appeared before the gates of Pavia; and old chroniclers relate that as Desiderius reconnoitered the Frankish army from a high tower, and saw the gigantic form of his enemy cased in bright armour, and mounted on a charger which seemed, like its master, to be an animated statue of iron, his heart sank within him, and he exclaimed in a melancholy tone to his attendants—"Let us descend and hide ourselves in the earth from the angry face of so terrible a foe." After several months' siege, want of food having compelled the garrison to surrender at discretion, Charlemagne sent the king, as one who had proved himself unworthy of a throne, to end his days in the monastery of Corvey, and placed on his own head the ancient iron crown of the kingdom of Lombardy. The same year (April 2nd, 774) he visited Rome, and dismounting at the distance of a thousand paces from the walls, walked in procession to the church of St. Peter on the Vatican hill, kissing the steps in succession as he ascended, in honour of the saints by whose feet they had been trodden. In the vestibule of the church he was received by the Pope, who embraced him with great affection, the choir chanting the psalm "Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord." Then they descended into the vaults, and offered up their prayers together at the shrine of St. Peter. Meanwhile the Lombards, far from submitting patiently to the yoke of a foreign master, had placed Adalgisius, the son of Desiderius, on his father's throne. But might again prevailed over justice, and the unhappy prince was compelled to save his life by going into exile; whilst of all the Lombard cities, Venice alone bade defiance to the conqueror, beat back his armies from her walls, and retained her freedom.

While success thus attended the arms of Charlemagne in Italy, his power was withstood on the other side of the Alps by the Saxons; a brave, but savage race, who for centuries had been engaged at intervals in sanguinary struggles with the Frankish sovereigns. Attempts had often been made to convert them to Christianity; but they adhered with greater obstinacy to heathenism, because conversion presented to their minds the idea of enslavement; and repeated endeavours to christianize them by

force had stained the fields of Germany with blood during the dynasty of the Merovingians. It was in the month of May 772 that Charlemagne held a council of his kingdom at Worms, at which war with the Saxons was unanimously voted. Religion was the pretext for this act of tyrannical injustice. The Franks had sent a missionary to preach to the Saxons at their great feast at Marklo, and since kindness and persuasion had failed to convert these obstinate unbelievers, they were willing, like their fathers of old, to try the effect of fire and sword; a feeling which Charlemagne encouraged with the view of rendering the war popular, as being the cause of God and his church. With the king at their head the Frankish army crossed the Rhine and drove all before them as far as the Weser, but Charlemagne being soon afterwards called off to suppress an insurrection in Lombardy, the Saxons rose as one man, and were again defeated with great slaughter. And thus for more than thirty years, under the command of Wittekind, Duke of Westphalia, they made head against their oppressors, rallying after every murderous defeat, and meeting in the depths of gloomy forests, where they swore irreconcilable enmity to the Franks on the altars of their ancient gods. It was not until their forces were completely exhausted by two bloody engagements, that their leaders Wittekind and Alboin came to Attigny in France, and voluntarily received the sacrament of baptism. The vulgar, as they are wont in such cases, ascribed the conversion of the former to a miracle. "Wittekind," says the legend, "visited Wolmirstadt in the disguise of a beggar, and, happening to enter the church, saw in the midst of the consecrated wafer the figure of a child clothed in white raiment; and so he at once acknowledged the truth of that religion which he had before rejected." In the year 803 a treaty of peace was signed at Selz on the Saale. Paganism, which had formerly been forbidden on pain of death, was again prohibited, but in other respects the ancient constitution of the Saxons remained unaltered, it being expressly stipulated that the two nations should be considered in all respects equal. Five years later, however, Wittekind having fallen by the hand of an assassin, his dukedom was divided by Charlemagne into eight bishoprics, which mark the extent of ancient Saxony on either side of the Weser. They were Munster, Osnaburg, Paderborn, Minden, Bremen, Verden, Hildesheim, and Halberstadt. Christianity was established and maintained by laws of the greatest cruelty; and a relapse into paganism, or the more

venial offence of eating flesh in Lent was equally punishable with death.

We must now take a short review of the other conquests of Charlemagne during the thirty-two years which were principally occupied by this struggle with the Saxons. In 778 he entered Spain on the invitation of Ibn-al-Arabi, emir or lord of Saragossa, and wrested from the Moors the whole of the country east of the Ebro, erecting Catalonia into a Frankish dukedom, and reinstating Ibn-al-Arabi in the government of Saragossa, from which he had been deposed by the dominant Moorish party. The principal general in this expedition was Roland, the hero of Frankish song, who fell in a skirmish while threading the defile of Roncesvalles. The next year Charlemagne took Majorca and Minorca from the Moors, and would probably have driven them out of Europe altogether, could he have spared a sufficient force from the Saxon wars for that purpose. In 787 the Duke of Benevento, whose territories extended from Naples to Brindisi, acknowledged him as his liege lord, and took the oath of fealty at Salerno; and a few years later the Avars, Poles, and Bohemians were subdued and made tributary to the Frankish crown. The princes or chams of the Avars had erected in Hungary fortresses of a peculiar construction, composed of circles of walls, one within another, which they believed to be impregnable. After a desperate struggle, these ring-forts, as they were called, were carried by storm, and the rich booty which they contained sent to Charlemagne, who immediately presented half of it to the Pope. At the taking of them a Swabian knight, named Count Gerold, distinguished himself by such acts of intrepid bravery, that the king granted to the Swabians the privilege of leading the attack in all future campaigns; and another warrior of the same nation impaled, as popular tales relate, seven of the Avars at once on his long spear, an exploit which procured for him among the soldiers the surname of Einheer, a hero whom the ancient legends of the North represent as dwelling with Odin in the halls of Walhalla.

These victories of Charlemagne changed the political constitution of a large portion of Europe. From the Ebro to the Raab and Theiss, and from Benevento to the Eyder, all the German tribes, with the exception of the Anglo-Saxons, and the Scandinavians who occupied Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, were, for the first time, united under one head. With these were joined the Romans of the Western empire, and a considerable

portion of the Sclavonians and Avars ; so that the dominions of Charlemagne were more extensive than those of the Roman emperors had ever been. The whole of this mighty kingdom had one religion, which formed a wall of separation from the Mohammedans in Spain, Africa, and Asia on the one side, and the heathenish Normans, Sclavonians, and Avars on the other. Italians and Germans, forgetting their former hatred of each other, were now united to defend their church against the attacks of all enemies, whether Mohammedan, pagan, or heretical, like the inhabitants of the Eastern empire. The descendants of the ancient Romans, however, although thus incorporated with the Germans, still remembered the days when Rome was mistress of the world. What could be more natural than that Charlemagne who now governed the land whence the emperors had once sent out their decrees to the uttermost parts of the earth, and whose dominions might vie with those which they possessed in the most palmy days of Rome, should conceive the idea of re-establishing the imperial throne ?

It was during a visit of the Pope to Charlemagne at Paderborn, in the year 799, that this plan seems to have been first discussed. The next year the King of the Franks went to Rome, and received from the hands of Pope Leo III. the crown which was destined for one thousand and six years to be the symbol of German unity, whilst the assembled people shouted " Long life and victory to Carolus Augustus, the great and peace-bringing Roman emperor, whom God hath crowned ! "

But Charlemagne had still higher views. In the hope of placing on his head the crown of the East as well as that of the West, he sent ambassadors to Constantinople to demand the hand of the widowed empress Irene ; but on their arrival they found that her throne had been usurped by Nicephorus, who was so little pleased at such a proposal that he treated the envoys with indignity ; in return for which (as we are told by a gossiping old chronicler, the Monk of St. Gall) his own ambassadors were sorely mocked and misused by the emperor three years later.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER V.

Visit of Pope Leo III. to Charlemagne, at Paderborn.—Shortly before the conclusion of peace with the Saxons in the year 799, Charlemagne held a splendid court at Paderborn, which was attended by all the nobles and ladies of his kingdom, in-

cluding his own beautiful daughters, who delighted the people by the skill with which they managed their horses, as they rode daily to the chase. The renowned Harun al Raschid, Caliph of Bagdad, sent him a costly tent, an elephant named Abulabaz (*the ravager*), and a water-clock of curious workmanship, containing twelve little brazen balls, one of which fell at the end of every hour into a basin of the same metal placed underneath, whilst at the same time a window opened, and figures of knights, from one to twelve in number, according to the time of the day, started out and performed various evolutions in front of the machine. These presents were intended as a testimonial of the eastern monarch's regard for a prince who, like himself, was an enemy of the rebellious Moorish usurpers in Spain. But the sight most gratifying to the Franks was the arrival of the Pope, who came from Rome to implore the aid of Charlemagne against the anti-Frankish party, from whom he had received personal ill-treatment. Meeting in the neighbourhood of an ancient fountain which in pagan times had been consecrated to some god of the forest or the stream, the spiritual and temporal sovereigns embraced, in presence of the disgusted Saxons, many of whom, being still heathens, were not unnaturally disposed to regard this interview as another public insult to the religion of their country. It was here that the question was debated, as we have already mentioned, of re-establishing the imperial dignity in the person of Charlemagne.

Embassy sent by Nicephorus to Aix-la-Chapelle.—"Charles avenged the cold and discourteous entertainment which his envoys had received at Constantinople by providing the Greek ambassadors with guides through the Alps, who were directed to conduct them through the wildest passes and along the most tedious routes. The Greeks accordingly reached Germany with their persons, dress, and equipage, in the sorriest plight imaginable. On their arrival, Charles is said to have had them introduced to four of his chief officers in succession, each arrayed in such splendid apparel as to induce the bewildered envoys to render four times over to his servants a homage which they could not pay, except to his own imperial person, without a great loss of dignity; until at length they stood in the presence of the most illustrious of kings, glittering with gold and jewels, and leaning on the arm of the very man whom their master had presumed to treat with disrespect.

"It happened to be the festival of the circumcision, and the Greeks had brought with them a musical instrument, which, by

means of brazen tubes and bellows of ox-hides, produced sounds alternately as solemn as the thunder or as gentle as the lyre. Singing in their own language the psalms appropriated to that holy season, they were overheard by Charles; who, enraptured by the sacred harmonies, commanded his chaplains to eat no bread till they had laid before him a Latin version of those beautiful anthems. He had mortified the effeminacy and retaliated the rudeness of his Greek allies; but he enthusiastically felt and acknowledged the charms of their superior civilization." *

CHAPTER VI.

CHARLEMAGNE.



Tomb of Wittekind in the Church of Engern, Westphalia.—Eleventh Century.

ON assuming the imperial crown, Charlemagne had declared that he bore the temporal sword only; the spiritual was intrusted to

* Sir J. Stephen's *Lectures on the History of France*, i. 87.

the Pope, as the representative of St. Peter, to whom the Saviour had given the keys of his kingdom: the empire, therefore, being in this sense subject to the head of the church, was called "holy," and the words Germanic-Roman were added to express the parts of which it was composed. The whole fabric of Charlemagne's dominion was founded on the feudal or vassalage system, which had been partially introduced by Clovis, whose policy it had been to diminish as much as possible the number of those who held independent freeholds by offering them every inducement to become vassals of the crown. The power of these proprietors was in consequence so weakened that Charlemagne found no difficulty in reducing them at one stroke to the condition of vassalage, by causing all male persons without distinction, who had attained the age of twelve years, to swear that "they would in future obey the emperor in the same manner as a vassal is bound to obey his lord." Thus Charlemagne became feudal lord of the whole empire; all his subjects, of whatever rank, being his vassals. The Emperor himself was the central point from which all the acts of his government issued. The more important letters were written by his own hand, and sealed with a seal which was set in the hilt of his sword. He would then place the letter in the hands of the proper officer, saying, "There is my order, and here (pointing to his sword) is that which will enforce obedience to it." The encouragement which he gave to agriculture, and his efforts to promote its improvement, deserve our warmest commendation. His own estates were patterns of neatness, and were managed according to a written code of instructions drawn up by himself; the cultivation of the vine, as well as of other fruit-trees, and the rearing of cattle, being carried on with a success which greatly improved the revenues of the crown. Charlemagne also directed his attention to the advancement of trade and manufactures, bringing, with that view, a considerable number of artisans out of Italy (where commerce still flourished), and encouraging by every means in his power their intercourse with his people. Bridges were thrown over the rivers, markets were established, the most burdensome imposts removed, and no fresh taxes levied except such as were supposed to be actually beneficial to trade by protecting it against foreign competition.

In those unsettled times, when war was the chief business and the highest glory of man, we can hardly expect to find that the fine arts, the offspring of peace and tranquillity, were cultivated

to any great extent : architecture nevertheless was indebted to the encouragement and exertions of Charlemagne for considerable improvements. At Frankfort, at Ingelheim on the Rhine, his favourite residence, and at Aix-la-Chapelle, buildings of no ordinary splendour were erected by his command. The legend relates, that as Charlemagne was riding one day through a wood, his horse suddenly started, as in pain. On seeking for the cause, it appeared that the animal had plunged its foot into the waters of a hot fountain, and thus accidentally disclosed the existence of those wonderful boiling springs which Charlemagne ever afterwards used, and which from his time to the present day have rendered Aachen, or Aix-la-Chapelle, the resort of invalids from all the countries of Europe. A fair city rose on the spot, and became the favourite residence of the Emperor, who built there a magnificent palace, and the noble cathedral, for the construction of which skilful workmen were summoned from all the civilized parts of the world. Marble was brought for the work from Ravenna and Rome, and the best artists of that day were employed in casting bronze gates for the entrance, whilst gold, silver, and precious stones were employed unsparingly within. Like a true patriot, Charlemagne exerted himself unweariedly to bring his mother-tongue to perfection, and even attempted to compose a German grammar ; but the work, being probably too difficult for one whose attention was perpetually distracted by other matters, was soon abandoned. He made, however, a collection of the popular songs of the various Germanic tribes, hoping thus to foster in the people at once a love for poetry and for their fatherland ; but the blind fanaticism of his son rendered this plan abortive by destroying all those precious reliques, which would have been invaluable in after times to the student of German antiquity. Charlemagne also gave German names to the months, and embraced every other occasion of forming for his people a language which should supersede that of the former masters of the world, and unite all who spoke it by the strongest bond of brotherhood, a common tongue. But the object which he had most at heart was the support and propagation of Christianity. Wherever the doctrines of the Gospel had already taken root, the old bishoprics and churches were settled on firmer grounds than before, and new establishments formed in countries of which the inhabitants were yet unconverted. The church was governed by four archbishops and twenty-seven bishops, all of whom were elected by the

Christian community and clergy, and confirmed in their office by the Emperor. In order to insure the regular education of the clergy, all bishops were required to entertain a certain number of spiritual persons who dwelt in one house near the church, and were called from the Greek word *Kanon*, a rule, Canonici or Canons. These establishments, as well as the schools afterwards founded by Charlemagne, were under the immediate superintendence of the bishop himself, who was expected to instruct and exhort his clergy as occasion might require. In order to improve the mode of celebrating divine service, Charlemagne introduced organs into his churches, and encouraged his people to cultivate instrumental music, which they did with such success that organists were sent out of Germany to Rome itself. In the study of vocal melody their progress seems to have been less satisfactory, for a contemporary writer says, that their rough voices seemed rather to *craunch* the notes in their throats than to utter them, and compares their treble to the screaming of seamews, whilst their bass quavers were like nothing so much as the rumbling and jolting of a cart along an ill-paved causeway. It was the earnest desire of the Emperor that the clergy should lead pure and holy lives: he therefore put in force the old laws against their keeping hounds, hawks, or jesters, and exerted himself to revive in them that simple and world-denying spirit which had animated the first teachers of Christianity. How anxiously he had this object in view may be collected from one of his ordinances. "The bishops and abbots," says this document, "should provide rather that the priests and monks lead good and holy lives, than that they sing and read well: for good singing and correct reading are, without doubt, praiseworthy; yet a bad voice seemeth to me more tolerable than a bad life. Also it is expedient that the fabric of the church be comely; but far more lovely is the adornment of good manners." Amidst the many vexatious hindrances which he experienced during his long reign from the obstinacy of ignorant men, Charlemagne was naturally led to the conclusion, that the only feasible mode of improving the moral condition of his people was to implant the seeds of better principles in the minds of the rising generation. In one of his circulars to the abbots of the empire, he complains that he "often receiveth very ill-written letters from convents; it is therefore greatly to be feared that monks who express themselves so indifferently will prove but sorry expounders of God's word." The Monk of St. Gall (whom

we have already quoted) relates the following story, which may serve as an illustration of the interest felt by Charlemagne in the progress of his youthful subjects:—"Charlemagne had established schools in different parts of his dominions, to which all his subjects, rich no less than poor, were compelled to send their children, that they might receive instruction from those who were appointed to that duty. Now it happened on a certain day, when he was visiting one of these schools, that the children of the nobles exhibited much ignorance, whilst those of the poor gave such answers as fully contented the Emperor. Placing the poor children on his right and the rich on his left, he first addressed the former: 'I thank you, my sons, that you have obeyed my commands. Continue to strive after perfection, and I will give you bishoprics and abbeys, and ye shall have favour in my sight.' Then turning with an angry countenance to those on his left, he said, 'Ye high-born sons of my most illustrious nobles! Ye asses and coxcombs! In the pride of your birth and your possessions you despise my commands, and give yourselves up to idleness, riot, and disorder; but'—and here he raised his hand with a threatening gesture—'by the King of heaven, if you do not straightway make up by diligence for your former neglect, you have little good to expect at the hands of Charles.'"

Old age at length, with its attendant infirmities, warned the Emperor to set his house in order, by making such a testamentary disposition of his property as would preclude all disputes after his decease. Two-thirds of his valuables were bequeathed to the bishops of the empire. A silver table, on which was engraven a plan of the city of Constantinople, was given to the church of St. Peter at Rome; a similar one, with an engraving of Rome, to the Bishop of Ravenna; and a third, which had a map of the world, was left to his children. His books were to be sold for the benefit of the poor.

In the year 813 the Emperor, on returning from his usual hunting party in the forest of Ardenne, was attacked by an illness so violent as to threaten immediate dissolution. Rallying a little, he assembled the Diet of the Empire at Aix-la-Chapelle in the autumn of the same year; and addressing his son Lewis who stood with him before the high altar of the cathedral, he exhorted him to fear God and to love him—to defend the church—to be kind to his relations—to honour the priests—and love his people as his children—to choose none but men of irreproachable character for

his ministers—and to keep a conscience void of offence both towards God and towards man. After this exhortation he added, “Wilt thou, my son, fulfil all this?” To which the Prince replied, “By God’s help I will.” Then the Emperor commanded him to take the crown from off the altar and place it on his own head. The following year his disease became more violent, and wasted his strength so rapidly, that on the fifth day he received the Holy Communion; and having commended his soul to God, folded his hands, and in a few minutes ceased to breathe (Jan. 28, 814). Many prodigies had given warning (as men believed) of the approaching event. For seven successive days black spots were observed on the sun’s disc. The portico, which Charlemagne had constructed as a means of communication between his palace and the cathedral of Aix, fell down with a terrible crash. The wooden bridge over the Rhine, at Mentz, which had been ten years in building, was utterly destroyed by fire in three hours. Repeated shocks of earthquakes were felt at Aix. The cathedral was struck by lightning, and the words “Carolus Imperator” obliterated from an inscription which had been placed there in honour of its founder. Charlemagne was buried at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the cathedral of the Blessed Virgin, which he himself had founded. After being embalmed in the usual manner, the body, instead of being laid in a coffin, was placed in a sitting posture on a golden throne, girt with a golden sword, the book of the Gospels in its hand, the imperial robe on the shoulders, and the face covered with a cere-cloth spread underneath the diadem. Over his tomb a gilded arch was erected, with a statue and this inscription—“In this sepulchre rests the body of Charles, the great and orthodox Emperor, who nobly enlarged the kingdom of the Franks, and reigned happily during 47 years. He died in his seventieth year, on the 28th day of January, 814.”

11

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER VI.

Laws of Charlemagne.—It was the practice of Charlemagne to collect the old codes of such German nations as possessed written laws; or, where none could be found, to employ commissioners, whose business it was to write down from the mouths of the people the traditionary or unwritten laws which they had been accustomed to obey. These were then laid before a diet, or assemblage of the notables of the empire, which was held in autumn. At this

meeting the generals, governors of provinces, archbishops, bishops, and abbots were invited by the emperor to deliver their opinions; and when all had been heard, such amendments as seemed necessary were adopted, and presented to the people at a general diet in the month of May. The laws of Charlemagne (termed the Capitularies) and those of his son Lewis were collected and arranged in the year 827. Their extreme severity shows the roughness of the times for which they were framed.

Those against theft are singularly cruel. For the first offence the robber was condemned to lose an eye, for the second his nose was cut off, and for the third he forfeited his life. Perjurers were punished by the loss of the right hand. The water-cure, so renowned in Germany in the present day, was also prescribed in the Capitularies of Charlemagne as the best mode of treatment for inveterate drunkards, who were condemned to a course of that meagre beverage until they were cured of their intemperate habits. Conspirators against the sovereign or against public order were punished, the principals by death, and accomplices by being condemned to flog each other, or, if the circumstances were unusually atrocious, to cut off each other's noses. Charlemagne took away from the Communities the right of administering justice, and placed it in the hands of Counts (Grafen), named by himself. Those who were dissatisfied with the decision of the local courts might appeal to commissioners (*missi dominici*), who performed their circuits, like our judges, at stated times of the year. The seven jurymen of the old Salique law were retained under the new title of Schöppen, who were to be nominated by the itinerant commissioners, subject to the approbation of the emperor. These were assisted by three assessors named Sagibarones, and presided over by a vicar, or imperial lieutenant, who held his office for life. Counsel were allowed to those who were too infirm or too ignorant to plead their own cause. In every district the count was required to maintain a prison and a gallows in good and serviceable repair, with a pillory in the public market-place for the punishment of minor offences. To the ancient ordeals of the duel, casting of lots, fire, and boiling water, were added those of the red-hot ploughshares, the cross, and cold water. The first of these trials was thus performed:—Nine ploughshares, heated to a red heat, being laid on the ground at unequal distances, the accused was required to walk over them barefoot, touching each with his naked sole. If he escaped burning, his innocence was established. The

man who accused another of perjury was required to undergo the ordeal of the cross, which was performed in the following manner:—Both parties standing before the cross, held their arms above their heads, and he whom weariness first compelled to change that uneasy posture, was condemned on what was esteemed the clearest of all evidence, the judgment of God. The water ordeal was very simple:—A rope being fastened round the accused, he was plunged into the nearest stream. If he sank, his innocence was established beyond a doubt, but he had generally the misfortune to be drowned; if he swam, he was at once condemned as a guilty wretch, whom the water rejected as too unclean to be retained in its bosom.

Officers of the Empire.—The first officer of the empire was the Arch-Pfalzgraf (Count Palatine) or Minister of Justice and Police, who possessed the right of removing the judges in case of misconduct. These officers, originally appointed as a check on the dukes, were so styled from their being employed in the administration of the estates attached to the imperial palaces (Pfalzen). Next to him was the Chancellor, an ecclesiastic, who had the management of all spiritual affairs. A third great officer was the Camerarius (chamberlain or treasurer), who managed the revenue, as well as the expenditure and arrangements of the imperial household. For the provinces the administration was thus ordered:—In former times they had been divided into large districts, each of which was ruled by a duke, originally the dux or leader of the army, who, when the forces were disbanded, became possessor of the largest tract of conquered country. The power of these petty princes being too great for Charlemagne's plan of universal dominion, he seized every opportunity of deposing them and dividing their territories into small districts called *Gaue*, each of which was governed by an officer termed a Gau-Graf or Land-Graf. If the Gau was situated on the frontier, he was called Mark-Graf (Count of the Marches or Frontier): if it belonged immediately to the emperor, he had the title of Pfalz-Graf—(Palatine or Palace Count). We have already noticed the imperial commissioners (Missi or Senden) who made the circuits in January, April, July, and October.

Military affairs.—A great change was effected in the condition of the people by a new system of raising soldiers for the various wars in which the emperor was engaged. Before his reign it had been the practice for none but the king's vassals to serve; but

Charlemagne, who saw the danger of encouraging the existence of an armed class distinct from the body of the people, introduced the following regulations:—Every freeholder who possessed three homesteads, called *Manses*, was required to appear in arms whenever a war broke out. Those who possessed less than the above qualification were obliged to club together to arm or equip one or more of their number, as the case might be. The possessor of twelve *Manses* was obliged to appear at the place of meeting clad in complete armour; but those of smaller property were only required to be provided with a lance and shield, or a bow, two strings, and twelve arrows. It was not often, however, that the whole of this militia (*Landwehr*) was called out. The bishops, who had hitherto disgraced their holy profession by appearing in arms, were now strictly prohibited from serving; two or three only being required to attend the army, not in the character of soldiers, but to comfort the wounded with their prayers, and perform the offices of the church over the dead. The effect of these arrangements was, that the petty freeholders, who had only been able to force from the soil a miserable subsistence by unremitting labour, found themselves, on their return from a campaign, so overwhelmed with debt, that they were compelled to sell their freeholds, or *Allodes*, as they were called, to some bishop or rich noble. Thus in a few years the people of the empire composed only two classes—those who possessed serfs, and those who had none: the former were to a certain extent free, the latter slaves.

It is worthy of remark, that as none but the emperor, dukes, and spiritual lords, could confer the right of hunting, fishing, and wood-cutting on their serfs, the proudest nobles would sometimes become vassals of convents, in order to obtain these advantages.

The Church.—The influence of the clergy over all classes soon became unbounded, partly on account of their learning, which, although it seldom extended beyond reading and writing their mother tongue, seemed almost miraculous in the eyes of men more ignorant than themselves, and partly from the immense possessions which they had acquired by purchase from the poorer freeholders. The monks (an order which had first originated in Egypt, and rapidly spread over Europe) were formed into regular societies in the sixth century, and took for their guide the rule of Benedict, an Italian who founded a monastery on Monte Cassino, near Naples. In all spiritual matters the Pope was acknowledged as absolute lord in Germany—a power conferred on him, or at least

confirmed, by the well-meant but imprudent conduct of Boniface in soliciting the sanction of the papal see to his mission, and recognising the Metropolitan of Rome as universal Bishop, a title which Gregory the Great and his predecessors had rejected with horror in the better days of the Catholic church. The clergy now claimed the right of being judged by their own bishops for offences which, in the cases of laymen, were tried in the ordinary courts ; and from the sentence of these spiritual judges there was no appeal but to the Pope, whose decision was final. Against the laity who disobeyed the commands of the church, the Pope had the power of pronouncing an interdict, which excluded them from public worship, and debarred them from the use of the sacraments : or the still more formidable sentence of the ban, by which he declared war against the sinner as an enemy of God, and called on all faithful Christians to aid in his destruction. In the early days of the empire, the election of a pope was not considered valid until it had been confirmed by the Emperor ; but this restriction, which ill suited the ambition of those who styled themselves the immediate representatives of Christ, was soon abolished. On the other hand, the election of an Emperor was informal unless approved by the Pope ; the successful candidate for the crown having only the title of King, until his coronation by the hands of the Bishop of Rome empowered him to assume that of Emperor. Thus the feudal lord of all Germany was himself a vassal of the Pope, from whom he received the imperial crown in the character of a gift rather than a right. Bishops, although they received their investiture (a ring and a staff) from the hands of the Emperor, could not exercise their functions until the pallium or pall arrived from Rome, nor could they be removed from office without the Pope's consent. Pepin had conferred on the Pope the whole of middle Italy, which thenceforward had the name of "States of the Church," or "Patrimony of St. Peter." The revenues of this rich gift were amply sufficient to maintain the papal court in a style suitable to the dignity which it assumed ; whilst the venerable relics of antiquity and memorials of ancient glory threw a splendour around the throne of him who reigned in the city which had once been mistress of the world.

But Charlemagne, though a warm friend of the church, was not disposed to be ruled by the Pope. Nominally, indeed, he confirmed the Roman Pontiff in the Italian temporalities granted by his father, though he subsequently did all that lay in his power to

evade his promise. But within his own dominions he took care to assert his supremacy in ecclesiastical matters. He presided over the synods held in different towns of his empire, and even claimed the prerogative of interfering in questions purely of doctrine. Thus, in opposition to Pope Adrian, he forbade the worship of images in his dominions, and caused a violent controversial work to be drawn up against them under his own immediaté superintendence.

Literature.—The leisure hours of Charlemagne were generally passed in the society of learned men, who were encouraged by his patronage to reside at the imperial court. During his meals some one read aloud to him out of old chronicles or the writings of theologians. He spoke the Latin language fluently, and understood Greek, but could not converse in it. His great ambition was to write well, but this object he never fully attained ; for the hand which had been accustomed to wield the sword or the lance, could not be rendered sufficiently pliable for the correct guidance of the pen ; although it is said his writing materials were placed under his pillow, and many a sleepless night was passed in tracing the stubborn letters. Among the most distinguished of his literary associates was his chaplain and chief adviser in ecclesiastical affairs, Alcuin, an English monk, with whom he had first become acquainted at Rome. This man, who was a prodigy of learning, acted as tutor, not only to the children of the imperial family, but to the Emperor himself. There were also the brave and intelligent Eginhard, the chronicler of his master's life and times ; Paul, generally surnamed Diaconus, a learned Lombard ; Bishop Turpin, who wrote a biography of the Emperor ; and Angilbert, Charlemagne's bosom friend. Such men as these were not there merely to adorn his court, but were their master's daily and hourly advisers in the practical affairs of his family and kingdom, forming a sort of literary club where learned and scientific as well as political subjects were freely discussed. At the meetings of this society, Charlemagne himself was addressed by the name of David, Alcuin was Horace, and Angilbert Homer.

Personal Qualities of Charlemagne.—The stature of Charlemagne is said to have exceeded that of ordinary men by at least a foot. His imperial crown, which is still preserved at Vienna, would fit only the head of a giant. In all bodily exercises he was unrivalled among his contemporaries, especially in swimming, which he practised both for amusement and as a means of strength-

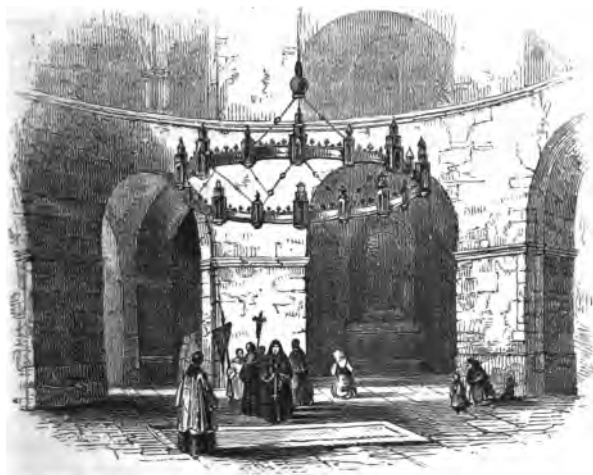
ening his frame. Extraordinary temperance, particularly in the use of wine, preserved his strength unimpaired almost to the end of his life. His dress was generally remarkable for its extreme simplicity ; and there is a story of his having rebuked the vanity of his courtiers, by showing them how little he regarded a soaking rain, which spoilt all their fine clothes : but on solemn occasions he appeared in all the splendour which became his rank, wearing a robe of cloth of gold, with jewelled shoes, a golden brooch, and a diadem of gold set with precious stones, the great sword of state hanging from his girdle, and his hose adorned with ribbons of various colours, crossed in fantastic forms after the fashion of that period. Charlemagne had no fewer than five wives. The second of these (whom he married immediately after his divorce from Desiderata, the daughter of Desiderius) being calumniated by Taland, a discarded lover, quitted the presence of her husband, and retired to Rome, where she devoted herself to the care of the sick, and other pious duties. At length, as the legend relates, her wicked accuser Taland appeared before her blind and in poverty. By her skill and attention he was soon restored to sight, and recognising the mistress whom he had so cruelly slandered, he fell on his knees, confessed his baseness, and led her back to the Emperor.

In the management of his own family, Charlemagne seems to have been almost weakly indulgent. His daughter Emma loved her father's friend Eginhard, and often received his visits. One morning, after having spent many hours with his mistress, Eginhard was preparing to depart, when they discovered that so much snow had fallen during the night as to render it impossible for the lover to retire without leaving the traces of his footsteps as he crossed the court. In this difficulty Emma mounted him on her shoulders, and was carrying him towards his own apartments, when they were perceived by Charlemagne, who happened to be standing at one of the palace windows. The lovers now gave themselves up for lost ; but the good-natured monarch, after reproving the presumption of Eginhard, forgave them both, and granted his sanction to their marriage. Charlemagne had three sons. The eldest, Charles, and the second, Pepin (a youth of great promise), died at an early age. Lewis, the youngest, and the most incapable, succeeded him on the imperial throne.

CHAPTER VII.

LEWIS THE PIOUS—TREATY OF VERDUN—PARTITION OF THE EMPIRE.

From A.D. 814 to 843.



Tomb of Charlemagne, at Aix-la-Chapelle.

WITH the life of Charlemagne had departed the pervading spirit which gave strength and activity to the administration of his unwieldy empire; for his successor, Lewis, surnamed the Pious, who in more settled and civilized times might have filled, without much discredit, the throne of a limited monarchy, was far too feeble to sway the sceptre of iron, with which a German monarch of those days found it necessary to control his half-barbarous subjects. The unhappy prince soon became aware of his own utter incapacity to manage the affairs of the empire; and three years after his accession, weary of his burdensome dignity, and full of remorse for the crime which he had committed in causing the eyes of his nephew Bernard to be put out, because the wisest of Charlemagne's counsellors had recommended him, rather than Lewis, as successor to the imperial throne, he proposed to abdicate in favour of his sons. But the Pope and clergy were too fully aware of the advantage afforded them by his inefficiency to permit such a step: and so completely was his superstitious soul terrified

by their threats, that, instead of retiring into a convent, as he had desired, he was obliged to content himself with doing open penance before the Diet of the Empire for the cruel treatment of his nephew. Soon afterwards he married a second wife, by whom he had a son named Charles, known in history by the surname of the Bald. Before the birth of this prince, Lewis had made a will, by which he divided the empire among his three sons, Lothaire, Pepin, and Lewis. Lothaire was to inherit the title of Emperor with Italy and the Rhineland as far as the sea ; Pepin was to have France ; and Lewis Germany. But the father, being now anxious to make some provision for his youngest son Charles, recommended a fresh division of the empire. Enraged at this proposal, the elder sons at once threw off their allegiance, and made war on their unhappy parent ; and having taken him prisoner, compelled him to do penance in a convent at Soissons, where he read aloud a paper in which he acknowledged himself guilty of perfidy, robbery, and murder. But no threats could compel him to take the monastic vows, and soon afterwards his two younger sons, jealous of the elder, replaced him on the throne. A new division of the empire was then made, from which Lothaire was excluded. Pepin died soon afterwards, and the Empress, who despaired of obtaining the entire empire for her son, gladly accepted the proposal of Lothaire to share it with his younger brother to the exclusion of Lewis. With an affectation of the deepest humility and contrition, Lothaire threw himself at his father's feet, addressing him in the language of the returning prodigal, " Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son ; I come not to seek a kingdom, I ask only for pardon and mercy." The old man embraced his son, assured him of his forgiveness, and divided the empire between Lothaire and Charles. This arrangement was, as might have been expected, vehemently resisted by Lewis, who appeared in arms to enforce his rights. But the life which had been one long scene of turbulence and misery was rapidly drawing to its close. The Emperor had collected his forces, and marched to the banks of the Rhine to meet his unnatural son, when mortal sickness compelled him to halt on the island of Ingelheim. The priests, who were called in to administer the last rites of the church, besought him to forgive his rebellious child, as he himself hoped for forgiveness at the hands of his heavenly Father. " Freely," said the dying man, " freely do I forgive him all his offences against me ; but, reverend fathers, fail

not to warn him that he hath brought down my grey hairs with sorrow to the grave." Soon afterwards he became speechless, and died uttering an inarticulate sound, to scare away, as his superstitious attendants believed, the fiends which hovered round his bed. Lewis the Pious died on the 20th June, 840, in the sixty-third year of his age, and the twenty-seventh of his reign, and was buried by the side of his mother in the cathedral of Metz. Charles and Lewis now united against Lothaire, and a terrible battle was fought near Fontenay in Burgundy, in which 100,000 men are said to have fallen, and the forces of Lothaire were utterly routed. On the 24th of February, in the year 843, the brothers met at Verdun in Lorraine, and concluded the celebrated treaty, by which the empire of Charlemagne was divided into three portions. Lothaire, the eldest brother, obtained the imperial dignity with Italy, Helvetia, and a narrow strip of land westward of the Rhine, which was named after him *Lotharii regnum* (Lorraine); Charles the Bald had the title of King of France, with all the territory west of Lorraine; and Lewis (surnamed the German) received for his share the whole of Germany, with the title of king. Thus was the empire which Charlemagne had spent his life in consolidating again rent asunder: yet the brothers, in conceding the title of Emperor to the head of their house, still preserved a show of union which in reality had for ever ceased to exist. Lorraine, it is true, became after a time incorporated with the other portions, but France and Germany, from that day to the present (except during the short reign of Charles the Fat), have been separate independent kingdoms.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER VII.

Lewis the Pious compelled to do penance at Soissons.—The Plain of Colmar, where most of Lewis's nobles deserted him and went over to his sons, has been called from that circumstance the "Perjurers' Field." With a kindly feeling, which did him honour, the poor old man implored the few who still remained faithful to follow the example of the traitors. "Go ye also over to my sons," said he, "for God forbid that one of you should lose life or limb on my account." The courtiers wept, but took him at his word; and Lewis in consequence fell into the hands of his sons, who conveyed him to Soissons, where he was compelled to perform open penance in the church of the convent. Stripping himself of his

armour and mantle, he lay down on a couch of sackcloth and read a list of his sins which had been drawn up by his sons and their advisers. "He had dishonoured the kingly office;" such were the words put into his mouth by his unnatural persecutors—"blasphemed God, offended the church." He acknowledged himself to be a perjured wretch; a stirrer up of strifes and disturbances; one who had even dared to wage war against his own sons! After this recital the Archbishop of Rheims (whom Lewis had promoted from a very humble station) and thirty bishops, laying their hands by turns on his head, chanted the penitential psalms, whilst Lothaire, seated on a chair of state, feasted his eyes with the spectacle of his father's degradation.

CHAPTER VIII.

LEWIS THE GERMAN—CHARLES THE FAT—ARNULPH—LEWIS THE
CHILD—CONRAD I.

From A.D. 843 to 917.

SCARCELY had Lewis the German ascended the throne assigned to him in the partition of the empire, when the country was invaded by the Northmen, a fierce piratical race, whose kings had often no dominions but the swift-sailing galleys in which they cruised off the coasts of Germany and France. Such was the audacity of these sea-robbers, that they not only plundered the villages on the coast, but entering the rivers, sailed in their light vessels into the very heart of the country, where they often stormed the strongest cities, and overthrew the armies which were sent out to oppose their progress. Whenever they received a check, they at once threw themselves into their boats, and, plying their oars with a swiftness which rendered pursuit hopeless, soon reached the open sea. So great was the terror caused by these marauders, that a petition for Divine protection against them was added to the litany of the German church. "A furore Nortmannorum, libera nos, Domine." (From the fury of the Northmen, good Lord deliver us!) Every year they attacked Friesland: and one of their princes, named Rollo, established an independent kingdom in that part of France which is still called Normandy. In the interior, the rebellious Sclavonian tribes were kept in check by the nobles: but on one occasion, if we may believe the obscure

annals of those days, the Saxons and Thuringians allowed the barbarians to get the better of them, for which they were soundly cudgelled by their wives on their return home.

Lewis the German died in 876, leaving three sons, who had scarcely closed the eyes of their father when they engaged in a bloody war with their uncle, Charles of France, respecting the succession of Lothaire, whose race was now extinct. A battle was fought at Andernach on the Rhine, in which Charles was defeated. The two elder sons of Lewis having died without legitimate issue, the youngest, Charles, surnamed the Fat, found himself in possession of the whole of Germany and Lorraine; and in 884 the French, dissatisfied with their young king, Charles the Simple, and anxious to have a prince who could protect them against the repeated invasions of the Northmen, having offered him the crown of France, the two kingdoms were for a short time re-united under one sovereign. But the hopes of the French were miserably disappointed; for Charles, who had already invested the Danish prince Godfrey with the Dukedom of Friesland and afterwards caused him to be murdered, soon purchased a disgraceful peace by paying a large sum of money to the pirates, and opening to them the city of Paris and the navigation of the Seine. At length his subjects, disgusted at his cowardice, assembled in diet at Tribur, on the plain of the Rhine, near Oppenheim, and solemnly pronounced the sentence of deposition against their weak and incapable monarch, who survived the disgrace only two months. Each nation then elected its own king. Arnulph, a natural son of Carloman (son of Lewis the German), was chosen by the Germans (A.D. 888); and soon after his accession discomfited the Northmen so effectually, that they ever afterwards avoided the Rhine, confining their depredations to the western coasts of France. About the same time there appeared in Pannonia, the ancient dwelling of the Lombards, and subsequently of the Avars, hordes of wild people, called by themselves Magarok or Magyars, and by the Germans Hungarians (*strangers*), or Huns; being, as it was believed, descendants of the ancient people who bore that name. These barbarians were still heathens; of short stature, hideously ugly, and speaking a rude and unintelligible jargon. Their meat was eaten with no other cooking than the tenderness acquired by its being carried for hours between the saddle and the person of the rider: their drink was milk or mead, or sometimes (if ancient chroniclers may be credited) the

heart's blood of their enemies. This wild people had first been called in by Leo, Emperor of the East, to assist him against the Bulgarians. Soon afterwards they straggled towards the West, where Arnulph made an alliance with them against Zwentibald, King of the Moravians.

As several princes were contending in Italy for the imperial crown and that of Lombardy, Arnulph, at the invitation of the Pope, visited that country, and took Bergamo by storm; but hearing that the King of France was marching against him, he was compelled to return into Germany. The next year, however (896), he again crossed the Alps and marched to Rome, where he found the city gates closed against him. Every attempt to storm the walls being fruitless, he was preparing to retreat, when his Germans, maddened by the insults of the defenders, made one more desperate assault, which proved successful; and Arnulph entering Rome in triumph received the imperial crown from the hands of the Pope. He died in the month of November or December, 899, of slow poison, administered, as it was believed, by the Italians, and was buried with great pomp in the church of St. Emmeran at Ratisbon, amidst the lamentations of his people, especially of the clergy, to whom he had been a munificent benefactor. The Germans now elected, as the successor of Arnulph, his son Lewis, surnamed the Child, an infant of six years old: but the perpetual feuds of the powerful vassals, and the terrible invasions of the Hungarians, rendered it impossible for the regents, or subsequently for the young king himself, to preserve tranquillity, and he died of a broken heart in 911. With him expired the race of the Carlovingians in Germany.

Immediately after his death the people elected Conrad, Count or Duke of Franconia, who died without heirs, after reigning six turbulent years, and with his last breath recommended as his successor Henry of Saxony, whom he believed to be the only prince capable of holding the reins of government in those unsettled times.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER VIII.

The false Decretals.—Pope Joan.—Ever since the time of St. Boniface the town of Mentz on the Rhine had been closely connected with Rome, and one of the chief seats of ecclesiastical learning. A German deacon named Benedict Levita published

here, about the middle of the ninth century, a collection of Decretals, by which the Pope was declared absolute sovereign of the Church, and superior to all general councils. By the same instruments he was also invested with the power of nominating to all bishoprics, and of deciding all ecclesiastical questions. In order to give these forged decretals a legislative power anterior to that of the German emperors, they were ascribed to St. Isidore, a Spanish saint of the seventh century. Nicholas I., an ambitious pontiff, connived at, if he did not actually invent, this forgery. He declared the decretals to be genuine, and adopted them as the foundation of the papal dominion.

Mentz was also the reputed birthplace of Pope Joan. A young woman of that town, who had carefully concealed her sex, was asserted to have been elected to the papal throne in the year 855, with the title of Pope Joan. The story is, however, a pure ~~fiction~~,
invented at a later date in order to ridicule the petticoat government under which some of the popes had fallen. Yet, previously to the Reformation, Pope Joan was acknowledged by the Roman Catholics themselves. Her statue long held a place in the cathedral of Sienna; and there was another statue of her in one of the streets of Rome at the time of Luther's visit to that city.

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CHAPTER IX.

HENRY I., SURNAMED THE FOWLER.

From A.D. 917 to 936.



Abbey of Corvey.

HENRY of Saxony had distinguished himself in the last reign by a brilliant victory over the Franconians commanded by Everard, the late king's brother ; when so many of them were slain that the Saxons, in the coarse style of those half-barbarous times, declared "it would be difficult to find a hell large enough to contain them." The announcement of Conrad's death was now brought to Henry by a messenger from his former antagonist, who found him in the Hartz mountains engaged in the sports of the field, whence he obtained the surname of "the Fowler." On receiving this intelligence, Henry, without loss of time, assembled the Franconian and Saxon nobles, who unanimously elected him King of Germany. The Archbishop of Mentz offered to anoint him, but Henry declared it was sufficient that he was called to rule over Germany

by God's grace and the choice of the people; and entreated the archbishop to reserve the oil for some more pious monarch.

Although elected only by a portion of his subjects (for the Swabians and Bavarians were absent from the diet), the new king at once resolved not only to reduce his own vassals to obedience, but to rid the land of those turbulent strangers, the Hungarians and Danes, whom the weak concessions of former princes had encouraged to ravage Germany almost every year. In order to defend the people from the frequent attacks of foreign enemies, the ancient dukes, whom Charlemagne had laboured so hard to suppress, had been restored by his successors to more than their former authority, and bade defiance to the weak masters whose vassals they professed to be. As early as the year 900, the Bavarians had received a duke for the defence of their country against the Hungarians; and the Saxons (whose frontier was most exposed to incursions from the Danes), the Franconians, and the people of Lorraine, were placed under a similar form of government. In Swabia the two Commissioners introduced by Charlemagne had usurped the whole of the authority, and under the title of messengers from the imperial chamber (*Kammerboten*), reigned as despotically as the dukes in the other provinces. Germany was thus divided into five independent sovereignties: 1. Saxony with Thuringia; 2. Franconia, on the banks of the Rhine and Main; 3. Swabia, from the Rhine to the Lech; 4. Bavaria, from the Lech to the frontiers of Hungary; 5. Lorraine, which at the time of which we are speaking was under the protection of France.

With the prudence which characterized him, Henry resolved to proceed step by step in the removal of the ills under which his country groaned, by first reducing the rebellious dukes to submission, commencing with the least formidable; and thus gradually giving his people courage to face the principal danger. His first expedition was against the Commissioners of Swabia, who yielded without striking a blow. Then he marched against Arnulph, Duke of Bavaria, who had shut himself up in the strong city of Ratisbon. A conference was held outside the walls, to which Henry came unarmed and almost without followers, whilst Arnulph appeared clad in complete armour and surrounded by a strong body-guard. This confidence on the part of the king touched the heart of his rebellious vassal: and when moreover he spoke to him of the duty incumbent on every true German to defend his fatherland, to maintain the honour of the empire, and to sacrifice all for

the peace and prosperity of the people, Arnulph burst into tears, and throwing himself at the king's feet, tendered him his allegiance. There now remained only the people of Lorraine, who were easily persuaded to abandon their former liege lord, the King of France, and unite themselves to Germany.

Having thus restored to the crown the rights of which it had been robbed through the weakness of former sovereigns, Henry now sought to retain the dukes in their allegiance by permitting them to form alliances with members of his own family; and at the same time, as a check to any further encroachments, he placed in every dukedom, as governor of those lands which belonged immediately to the crown, a Count Palatine, who was invested with the authority of imperial judge within his district. After making these important arrangements, the king proceeded to take measures for resisting the Hungarians, who had invaded his dominions. Their king having been captured in a skirmish, Henry consented to release him, and also to pay them a yearly tribute, provided they consented to a nine years' truce. These nine years were passed by Henry in the most active preparations to meet the enemy, as soon as the truce should expire. >

As the Hungarians always fought on horseback, it was necessary that the cavalry forces of the empire should be strengthened and improved. Henry therefore directed, that all whose estates qualified them for this service, should meet at certain times, and practise military exercises. At these meetings (which were the origin of tournaments) noble ladies sat as spectators, and rewarded with their smiles the knights who most distinguished themselves by their bravery and adroitness. In order to improve the state of the infantry, which, like the cavalry, had fallen into great disorder since the days of Charlemagne, Henry issued a decree that every male person above the age of thirteen should bear arms and accustom himself to the use of them. No less a punishment than death was to be inflicted on him who neglected to appear at the place appointed for practice within three days after being summoned. Many of the miseries which the Hungarians and other enemies had inflicted on Germany might have been avoided if the Germans had possessed a sufficient number of fortified towns, where they could have remained in safety until the storm was past: but they had always been accustomed to despise any defence except that of their swords and shields; and therefore allowed even the few strong places which they possessed to fall into dila-

pidation. These were now repaired by Henry, who laid at the same time the foundations of several new towns. To garrison these strongholds, the bands of outlaws who infested the country were formed into regular companies, and promised forgiveness if they performed their duty faithfully. Besides these, every ninth man was required to leave the cultivation of the soil, and join in defence of the fortresses, into which a third of all agricultural produce was to be regularly conveyed and kept for the use of the garrison. It was also ordered that, for security's sake, fairs, marriages, divine worship, and the administration of justice should take place within the walls. Gradually, as the advantages of residing in these places of safety became better known, the people crowded more into them, or established themselves in the immediate neighbourhood, where they could carry on their trades in comparative security. All these preparations having been made, the king found himself in a condition to bid defiance to the Hungarians, and as soon as the nine years of truce had expired, is reported (although the story is of very doubtful authenticity) to have sent them a mangy dog as the only tribute he thenceforward intended to pay.

The next year (933) they entered Germany with two armies, one of which was defeated by the Saxons near Sondershausen: the other was met by the king in person at Keuschberg on the Saale. The Hungarians, who had learnt the defeat of their brethren, made fire signals on the hills to draw the rest of their hordes together. Henry, having addressed his men in a spirited and encouraging harangue, unfolded before them the banner of the Archangel Michael, and charged the Hungarians with the cry of Kyrieleison (Lord have mercy), which was echoed back by the fearful Hui! Hui! of the barbarians. After a bloody conflict the whole army of the enemy was either slain or put to flight, and Henry falling on his knees, with all his soldiers, offered up a solemn thanksgiving to the God of battles. The anniversary of this victory is still celebrated in the village of Keuschberg.

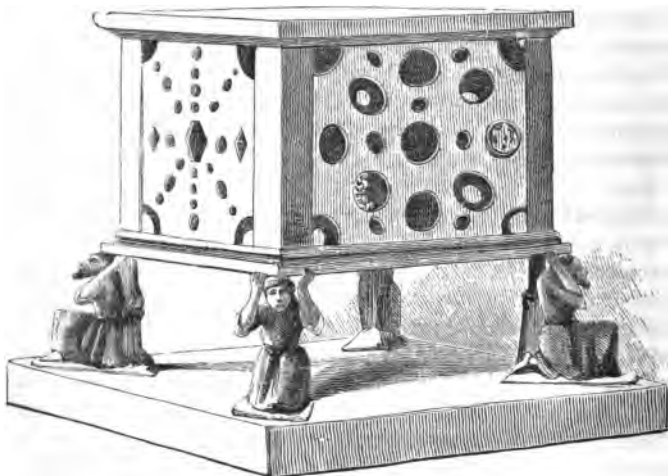
Three years after this battle (A.D. 936) Henry died at Memleben in Thuringia in his sixtieth year, leaving behind him three sons; the eldest of whom, Otho, had previously to his father's death been approved by the diet as his successor. As he lay on his death-bed, and felt his end approaching, the good old king called his wife to him and addressed her in these words: "I thank Jesus Christ that I do not survive thee. Never had man a wife

more faithful or of more assured piety. I am thankful that thou didst always moderate my wrath, give me good counsel, guide me in the path of justice, and teach me to have compassion on the oppressed. I now commend thee and our children, as well as my own departing spirit, to the most High, the Almighty God, and to the prayers of his elect."

CHAPTER X.

OTHO I.

From A.D. 936 to 973.



Shrine or Relic-Chest of the Tenth Century, preserved at Goslar.

Orto, the eldest son of the late monarch, was twenty-four years old when his father died. Although his nomination had been already confirmed by the diet, it was thought necessary that he should be formally elected before his coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle. The memory of his illustrious father, no less than the importance of the empire over which he was called to reign, imparted no small interest and solemnity to this ceremony, which was attended by the dukes of the various provinces, with the counts of the empire and other nobles, the archbishops, bishops, and an immense

multitude of people. The nobles having first taken the oath of allegiance in one of the halls attached to the chapter-house, the procession moved towards the cathedral, at the entrance of which the king was received by the Archbishop of Mentz, who led him into the church, and placing him in the centre aisle, where he could best be seen by the assembled crowds, turned to the people and addressed them in these words: "Behold him who has been chosen of God, recommended to you by your late sovereign, and elected by the princes of Germany to be your king. Let those who are content with this election signify the same by holding up their right hands." The hands of all were raised at the conclusion of this address, and a loud shout of joy and triumph testified the approbation of the people. Then the archbishop led the king to the altar, on which lay the insignia of the empire—the sword, mantle, armlets, staff, sceptre, and crown. Placing the sword in the hands of Otho, he said, "Take thou this sword; with the same shalt thou, by the power which God hath committed unto thee, and with the assembled forces of the empire, drive forth the enemies of Christ." On investing him with the mantle, he said, "The hem of this garment reacheth even unto the ground; let it be a sign unto thee that thou persevere unto the end in upholding peace." The sceptre and staff were then presented, the archbishop addressing him in these words: "Let the emblems now put into thy hands remind thee that thou oughtest to restrain thy subjects with fatherly correction; and above all things to stretch forth the hand of kindness to the servants of God, to widows and orphans—so shall the oil of mercy never fail to anoint thy head, and thou shalt be adorned in the life to come with a crown which fadeth not away." At the conclusion of the address the archbishop, assisted by the other prelates, placed the golden crown of Charlemagne on the head of the new sovereign, and anointed him with the holy oil. After the solemn performance of divine service, the crowd dispersed, and Otho returned to the palace to partake of the coronation banquet, which was served to the king and archbishop of Mentz on a marble table, the nobles being entertained at other tables. The circumstance which added the greatest dignity to this feast, was the attendance of the most powerful vassals in their character of officers of the imperial household. The Duke of Lorraine acted as grand chamberlain, and superintended the general arrangements of the banquet, as being duke of the district in which Aix was situated. Everard, Duke of Franconia, was chief sewer, and

placed the first dish on the royal table ; whilst Herman, Duke of Swabia, in quality of arch-butler, presented a cup of wine to the king. The Duke of Bavaria, as master of the horse, presided over the arrangement of the stables. At the conclusion of this banquet the king made presents of great value to the officers of state who had attended on him, as well as to the other nobles and prelates. But the crown, which had been placed on the head of Otho with so much gorgeous magnificence, was destined, at the beginning of his reign, to be an uneasy burden ; for scarcely was he seated on the throne, when intelligence was received of tumults and insurrections in various parts of the empire. In Bavaria, Everard, who had succeeded his brother as duke, refused to do homage for his dukedom. The Duke of Bohemia also bade defiance to the king ; whilst, to add to his embarrassment, the old enemies of the empire, the Hungarians, encouraged by these appearances of disaffection, entered the south of Germany, which they ravaged as far as the frontiers of France. But the new sovereign proved himself worthy of the confidence which his renowned father, as well as the electors, had reposed in him. Everard was attacked, conquered, and deprived of his dukedom, which was conferred on his younger brother ; and the Duke of Bohemia was at length subdued, after a war which lasted nearly fourteen years. But the enemies who threatened to prove most formidable were those of his own family. In the year 937 the Duke of Franconia entered into a conspiracy with the Duke of Lorraine and the Archbishop of Mentz to depose the king, and place his brother Henry on the throne. They had agreed that Henry should first revolt, and whilst Otho was engaged with him, the Duke of Franconia should rise in Saxony and attack the king in the rear. As they had expected, Otho followed his brother towards Lorraine ; but on reaching the Rhine, he sent messengers to the conspirators to inquire whether they desired war or peace. Meanwhile a little band of scarcely a hundred men had embarked in the few boats that were at hand and crossed the river. The messengers soon returned with the unsatisfactory reply that the confederates would hear of no accommodation. Otho, alarmed for the safety of the handful of soldiers who had crossed the Rhine, could only pray that God would grant them a deliverance, which, humanly speaking, seemed impossible. "Help me, O Lord," he exclaimed, "in this mine utmost need : look on thy people over whom thou hast made me to be king, and deliver them from their enemies, that all the nations may know how great is thy power,

and that no mortal man can resist thy will." "It was soon seen," says the pious chronicler of these events, "that the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much." The brave little band, on reaching the opposite bank, immediately took up a position, with a deep pool in front, and the river in their rear; so that the enemy could only attack them by entering the narrow strip of land on which they stood, at one or other of its extremities. Whilst they were attempting this, some of the royalists stole round and attacked the rebels in the rear, shouting at the same time in French, "Save yourselves." The enemy, confused, and supposing that their rear was assailed by a large force, immediately fled, leaving the field in possession of the royalists. Henry, who had been slightly wounded in this skirmish, took refuge in the city of Merseburg, and shortly afterwards rejoined the other conspirators. At this time the situation of Otho was critical, for the ecclesiastical princes on the Rhine who had hitherto supported him now went over to his enemies; and under the circumstances many of the royal generals were of opinion that an immediate retreat was expedient; but Otho peremptorily refused to comply with their wishes. "No," he exclaimed, "I will hear of no retreat. If our time is come we will fall like men, and not tarnish our reputation. It is better to die for the good cause than to flee and live disgraced. Brave men never reckon their enemies." Whilst affairs were in this posture, one of the most powerful counts, willing to take advantage of the sovereign's difficulties, petitioned for the grant of a rich abbey, hinting at the same time that a refusal would considerably weaken his attachment to the royal cause. The king's reply was full of courage and dignity. "At such a moment as this," said he, "thy prayer is no prayer, but a threat. Therefore do I declare unto thee, and these men are witnesses of my declaration, that neither the abbey nor any other gift shalt thou receive at my hands. If thou wilt be faithless, and abandon me with the other traitors, do so. The sooner the better." The count, moved by this address, threw himself at the king's feet and swore perpetual fidelity. Soon afterwards the conspirators crossed the Rhine at Andernach, intending to storm the royal camp; but at this critical moment a reinforcement arrived, led by the Duke of Swabia, who attacked the rebels with such fury that they retreated hastily across the Rhine, leaving both their commanders dead on the field of battle.

Having thus settled the internal affairs of his kingdom, Otho

had leisure to carry on his operations against the Slavonians and Danes, who were made tributaries of the German crown; but scarcely had these enemies been subdued when he was called to take a part in the affairs of Italy. That unhappy country was now in a state of indescribable confusion. The family of Charlemagne being extinct, new candidates for the crown appeared, and prosecuted their claims with a ferocity which spread desolation and woe throughout the land; nor did there seem to be any prospect of a settlement, except by calling in the intervention of a mightier power. Berengar, Duke of Ivrea, who had long had his eye on the Italian crown, had endeavoured to compel Adelaide, the beautiful widow of the last king, to become the wife of his son, and on her refusal had shut her up in a strong fortress on the Lago di Garda. From this captivity she was rescued by the intrepidity of a pious and faithful monk, named Brother Martin, who undermined the walls of the castle and withdrew the unhappy princess from her dungeon. For a long time she wandered up and down in the most pitiable distress, travelling by night, and concealing herself by day among reeds or standing corn, until at length she reached the cottage of a fisherman, where she remained for some days disguised in male apparel. Intelligence of her escape having been conveyed by Brother Martin to her friends, Adelaide was removed to the castle of Canossa, which was immediately attacked by her cruel persecutor; and the besieged, terrified at the appearance of a force so much superior to any that they could raise, at once decided on calling in the assistance of Otho, and sent messengers to offer him the crown of Italy, and the hand of the widowed queen. Nothing could be more acceptable to Otho than this proposal; for the death of his wife Edith, daughter of Edmund, King of England, had left him at liberty to contract another marriage; and no alliance could be so advantageous as one which would make him lord of the fair realms of Italy. He therefore at once entered that country, compelled Berengar to raise the siege of Canossa, and, carrying off Adelaide in triumph, married her at Pavia, where he caused himself at the same time to be crowned King of the Lombards (A. D. 951). Otho now returned into Germany with his young bride, and soothed himself with the belief that peace and tranquillity were established on a basis which might bid defiance to the assaults of disaffection. But these hopes were miserably frustrated. His own son, Ludolph, Duke of Swabia, was the first to raise the standard of rebellion against him. The

pretext for this act of infamy was, that Otho allowed himself to be influenced, to the prejudice of his son, by his brother Henry, whom he had now with unaccountable infatuation admitted to his confidence. In conjunction with the Archbishop of Mentz and Conrad, son-in-law of the king, Ludolph carried on this unnatural war for some time, but at length, worn out and despairing of success, he suddenly appeared before his father, barefoot, and in the dress of a penitent, and, throwing himself on his knees, implored forgiveness. Otho readily pardoned him, but deprived him of his dukedom, and sent him into Italy to fight against the Lombards. In the year 955 the Hungarians again entered Germany in such prodigious numbers that, as they boastingly declared, unless the earth opened and swallowed them up, or the sky fell on them, it was not possible that they could be overcome. They pitched their camp near the city of Augsburg; and Otho, fully aware of the danger with which his kingdom was threatened, prepared to meet it by calling out the whole militia of Germany. Happily for the king, he was joined by Conrad, Duke of Franconia, at the head of a well-trained body of cavalry. The Germans, in the highest spirits, wished to commence the attack at once; but Otho would not permit this until he and all his soldiers had partaken of the Holy Sacrament. Having performed this duty, the king made a vow to St. Lawrence, on whose day (10th Aug. 955) the battle was fought, that if he obtained the victory he would found a bishopric in Merseburg. Ulric, Bishop of Augsburg, then blessed the whole army, which, although not equal in numbers to that of the Hungarians, consisted nevertheless of eight formidable battalions. The king himself commanded the fifth division, surrounded by a body-guard of picked men, who had charge of the sacred spear (formed out of the nails of the cross; or, according to some legends, the weapon itself with which the soldier pierced our Saviour's side), and the banner emblazoned with a representation of the Archangel Michael. The Hungarians, crossing the Lech, on the banks of which the Germans were drawn up, attacked them furiously in the rear, and so discomposed the Bohemians by the showers of arrows which they poured in upon them, that they gave way, and suffered the whole of the baggage to be taken. Otho, observing this, commanded Duke Conrad to advance with his Franconians and charge the enemy in front; an order which was executed so faithfully and boldly, that in a short time the baggage and prisoners were re-taken. Then began the general engage-

ment. Wherever the fight raged most fiercely Otho was seen, encouraging his men, and performing prodigies of valour. The Hungarians fought well; and it was not until thousands and tens of thousands of them were slain, and the Lech ran red with their blood, that they at length gave way. The two following days they were pursued by the Germans, and the villages in which they sought refuge being set on fire, most of them were burnt to death. Three of their princes fell in the battle and pursuit, and we are told by one of their own historians that out of two divisions, consisting of 60,000 men, only seven Hungarians escaped, and they with slit noses and ears, to announce to their countrymen the terrible disaster which had befallen the army. So delighted were the Germans at the bravery of their king, that they saluted him on the field by the titles of "Emperor and Father of his country." The victory, however, had been dearly purchased. Many of their best warriors lay dead on the field; and among others Duke Conrad of Franconia, who, happening to open his vizor for air, was pierced through the brain with an arrow. The Bishop of Ratisbon, although grievously wounded, had sufficient strength left to strike down a Hungarian, who was beginning to strip him, and thus preserved his life. Since this great victory the Hungarians have never appeared with an organized army in Germany proper.

The only task that now remained was to chastise the Slavonians; an operation which was carried on in the full spirit of the advice given by Dittmar of Merseburg:—"If you want a Slavonian to obey, you must cudgel him and make him eat hay like an ass." Some attempts, however, were made to civilize the people by founding bishoprics at Oldenburg, Meissen, Prague, and other places. Germany was now tranquil; the Slavonians reduced to obedience, and the Italians vassals of the empire; the people were prosperous, and deriving great advantage from the silver-mines, which had lately been discovered in the Hartz forest; and in the royal family, the state, and the church, peace and unanimity seemed firmly established.

It has been mentioned that Otho's son Ludolph had been sent into Italy to chastise the Lombard prince Berengar, who, forgetful of his oath, had thrown off his allegiance to the German crown. Ludolph, after reducing his adversary to the greatest extremities, having fallen a victim to the unhealthiness of the climate, the Lombard again rallied, and treated with cruelty all who refused to acknowledge his authority.

By the invitation of these sufferers Otho entered Italy, marched into Pavia without opposition, and, having deposed Berengar, was a second time crowned King of Italy. From Pavia he proceeded to Rome, where he received the imperial crown from the hands of Pope John XII. on the 2nd of February, 962.

Shortly afterwards Otho again marched to Rome to depose John XII., at the request of the Romans, who were scandalized by that pontiff's profligate life. Otho caused Leo VIII. to be elected in his place. It was this last pope who made the celebrated but much disputed decree allowing Otho, and his successors in the kingdom of Italy, the faculty of naming the pope, and also, consequently, all archbishops and bishops, who were to receive their investiture from those princes.

As the south of Italy still belonged to the eastern empire, Otho, choosing to proceed by negotiation rather than violence, despatched Luitprand, Bishop of Cremona, to Constantinople, to demand the emperor's step-daughter for his young son; but the envoy and his suite sped so ill that, after enduring (as the bishop tells us in his journal) intolerable affronts, they departed in disgust, their chief congratulating himself, as he stepped into his boat, on his escape from that "perjured, lying, cheating, rapacious, greedy, avaricious, nasty town." Soon afterwards, however, Nicephorus being deposed, his successor ceded the whole of Lower Italy to Otho, and promised to give his daughter in marriage to the young prince.

In the sixty second year of his age the Emperor lost his old and attached friend Herman Billung, whom he had invested with his own Dukedom of Saxony. From this stroke he never rallied, and died soon afterwards (on the 6th May, 973) so tranquilly, as he knelt before the altar in the church of Memleben, that the attendants who found him stretched on the pavement supposed at first that he was asleep. His body was brought to Magdeburg, and buried in the church of St. Maurice, by the side of his first wife, Edith of England.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER X.

Empire of Germany.—Otho completely subdued Italy, in which country he passed several of the latter years of his life. When at Rome he resided in the Vatican. It was he who fixed the title of Emperor in the German name and nation. Otho's father, Henry, and his predecessor, Conrad, were, properly speak-

ing, only *kings* of Germany; they never received the imperial crown from the hands of the pope, and are consequently not reckoned among the emperors by the Italian historians. From the time of Otho two maxims of public jurisprudence began to prevail:—1. That the prince elected by the German diet became by that election King of Italy and Rome; 2. That he could not, however, lawfully assume the title of emperor before he had received the imperial crown from the hands of the Roman pontiff.

Bishop Luitprand's Embassy to Constantinople.—"We arrived here," writes the good bishop, "in the month of June, and immediately they assigned us a guard of honour, without which we were not allowed to stir a single step. On the second day after our arrival we were admitted to an audience. The Emperor Nicephorus is a little roundabout fat man, and so black withal, that if you met him by chance in a wood he would scare you. He spake thus: 'I greatly regret, Sirs, that your lord should have had the audacity to take possession of Rome, and put to death Berengar and Adalbert, both good men and true—this was done, I know full well, by your advice.' We—"Our lord the Emperor hath freed Rome from tyrants and miscreants; * * * and there be knights in our company who are at any time ready to maintain his right with their bodies in fair and honourable duel; nevertheless we come to you on a peaceful errand, and to ask the hand of the Princess Theophania.' On hearing these words he started from his seat, bawling out, 'It is time now to attend the procession; we will hear the rest of your story at a more convenient season.' The next day at table it pleased him to find fault with our system of warfare: our weapons, he said, were too heavy, and our soldiers only brave when they were drunk—you must look for the true Romans at Constantinople. Here he made a sign with his hand that I should hold my peace. Then he would talk of church affairs, and sneeringly asked whether there had ever been any council held in Saxony. Where the most diseases are, there we find the most remedies. All sorts of heresies have had their birth among the Greeks; so it was necessary that they should have councils of the church to set them right. I wot, nevertheless, of one Saxon council where it was resolved that it was more honourable to fight with the sword than with the pen. The Emperor is surrounded by flatterers: the whole city is a sink of uncleanness: even on fast days they have performances at the theatre. Their army is composed of hired raga-

muffins from Amalfi and Venice. Four hundred Germans, with a fair field and no favour, would, I verily believe, beat them all."

Discovery of Silver Mines in Germany.—The rich mines of the Hartz mountains were discovered in this reign. A nobleman who was riding through the forest had halted to observe some object of interest, when his horse, impatient of the delay, began to paw the ground with its foot, and scratched up a stone of white ore, which, on examination, proved to be silver. In consequence of this discovery, the earliest silver mines of which we have any record in Germany were opened in the year 938.

CHAPTER XI.

OTHO II., SURNAMED THE RED—OTHO III., SURNAMED THE PRODIGY—
HENRY II., SURNAMED THE SAINT.

From A.D. 973 to 1024.

OTHO the Second, surnamed the Red, was nineteen years old when he succeeded his father on the imperial throne. His understanding, naturally good, had been diligently cultivated by his Italian mother, Adelaide: but, unfortunately for Germany, she had also inspired him with a love of the south, which led him into distant unprofitable wars, and eventually to defeat and ruin. He had scarcely reigned a year when Duke Henry of Bavaria declared war against his sovereign, but was soon conquered and taken prisoner. The following year Charles, brother to Lothaire, King of France, invaded Lorraine, under the auspices of the king, who swore that the horses of France should drink up all the rivers of Germany; to which Otho replied, in the same style of boastful exaggeration, that he would cover France with straw hats. The two armies met at Aix-la-Chapelle, where the French had already got possession of the palace, and turned the golden eagle on the roof with its head towards France: but Otho's force (composed in a great measure of Saxons, who wore straw hats over their helmets) soon compelled the invaders to retreat, and, pursuing them as far as Paris, burnt the suburbs: but, being unable to take the city, they returned into Germany, after agreeing that Charles should hold Lorraine as a fief of the empire.

The heart of Otho had always been in Italy; he was therefore by no means displeased when circumstances arose which gave him a fair excuse for visiting that country. A Roman, named Crescentius, had caused himself to be proclaimed Consul, murdered the pope (Boniface VI.), and set up Boniface VII. in his place. The imperial party resisted this nomination, and elected another pope. Otho, thinking himself called on to interfere in these disputes, marched to Rome and restored order, though after a somewhat barbarous fashion, by inviting the principal Romans to a feast in the area before St. Peter's church, and then seizing and putting to death all whom he suspected of being his enemies. The refusal of the Greeks to give up certain lands which the Eastern Emperor had promised as the dowry of the Princess Theophania having furnished Otho with an excuse for declaring war, he now entered Lower Italy with a large army, and, meeting the united forces of the Greeks and Saracens at Basantello in Calabria, was defeated with terrible loss. The following year he died of grief and disappointment in the twenty-ninth year of his age and tenth of his reign. (A.D. 983.)

His son Otho III., a child of three years old, was acknowledged as his successor, and placed under the guardianship of his mother Theophania and his grandmother Adelaide; Gerbert, Abbot of Magdeburg, the most learned man of that age, undertaking the office of tutor.

Scarcely had the remains of Otho II. been laid in the earth, when Henry, Duke of Bavaria, renewed his attempts on the crown of Germany, and succeeded in making himself master of the young king's person; but the nobles on whose assistance he had reckoned declared that they had already sworn fidelity to Otho, and would not violate their oath. At the head of these loyalists was Willigis, Archbishop of Mentz, the son of a wheelwright, who had adopted a wheel as the arms of his electoral see, with the motto, "Willigis, forget not thine origin."

Henry, finding himself thus deserted, was content to secure his own safety and the possession of his dukedom by delivering up the young king, and consenting to take the oath of allegiance. Under the instruction of his tutor, whose profound knowledge of mathematics and natural philosophy had, as was usually the case in those ignorant times, brought on him the suspicion of dealing with the powers of darkness, Otho made such rapid progress in all branches of knowledge as to obtain the surname of the Prodigy. At fifteen

he assumed the reins of government, and made his first journey to Rome, to show himself to his Italian subjects, and receive the imperial crown from the hands of the pope. No attempt was made to oppose his progress, and on his arrival at Rome he was crowned with great solemnity; but no sooner had he quitted the city than the Romans, headed by the pope himself, broke out into open rebellion. A second time Otho entered Rome, deposed the pope, and elevated his late tutor, Gerbert (Silvester II.), to the papal throne. Crescentius, who had joined this insurrection, although he had sworn allegiance to Otho, threw himself into the castle of St. Angelo, where he was besieged by the Margrave of Meissen, and, after an ineffectual resistance, taken prisoner and beheaded. Meanwhile the year one thousand, which according to traditional belief was to be the last that the world would ever behold, was rapidly approaching; and warriors, laying aside their arms, endeavoured by prayer and penance to prepare themselves for the day of judgment. Otho availed himself of this period of tranquillity to make a pilgrimage into Poland, where he founded a church in honour of the martyr Adalbert: and on his return to Germany visited Aix-la-Chapelle, and, opening the sepulchre of Charlemagne, discovered the body of that renowned monarch sitting on its chair of state, as it had been placed nearly two hundred years before. In the year 1001 he visited Rome for the third time, with the intention of making that city his residence and the capital of the empire: but his plans were disturbed by a violent insurrection of the populace, who could ill brook the rule of a foreign prince, and, besieging him in his own palace, demanded with savage outcries that he should resign the crown. All would now have been lost, but for the courage and sagacity of the emperor, who came forward when the uproar was at its greatest height, and, having with some difficulty obtained a hearing, addressed the crowd in a speech glowing with religious enthusiasm; which so touched the hearts of the excitable Romans, that they at once took the oath of allegiance, with many expressions of remorse for their rebellion. The following year Otho died of a spotted fever, or (as the Italian and some of the German chroniclers assert) of poison administered by his mistress Stephania, the beautiful widow of Crescentius.

The only surviving representative of the Saxon house was Henry, son of that Duke of Bavaria who had attempted to wrest the crown from Otho in his infancy. After a severe struggle this

prince succeeded in obtaining his recognition in Germany; but three journeys to Rome were hardly sufficient to establish him fully in Italy, although he obtained the Lombard crown in 1004, and that of the empire in 1014. A great part of his life was spent in alternate wars with the Italians, Poles, and Bohemians. He died in 1024, recommending on his death-bed Conrad of Franconia as most worthy to succeed him on the throne. Of his character we know nothing, except from the priests, the only chroniclers of those times, who have rewarded his piety in endowing the Bishopric of Bamberg out of his private resources by conferring on him the title of Saint.

With him ends the Saxon dynasty.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XI.

Religion in the Tenth Century.—During this century very little was done to remove the ignorance of the people. The bishops (who were so universally men of high birth that great surprise and disgust were expressed at the nomination of Willigis, the wheelwright's son, to the electoral see of Mentz) had too much of the aristocratic passion for war and the chase, to bestow any time on the education of their flocks; and these unclerical tastes were encouraged by the emperors, who augmented the power of the clergy by repeated grants of lands and privileges in the hope of establishing a counterpoise to the overweening influence of the temporal nobles. Superstition therefore of the most abject character took the place of religion in the benighted minds of the people. The doctrine of purgatory and the practice of auricular confession became universal, and crimes of the blackest dye were expiated, as men believed, by fasting, penance, and renunciation of the world.

Literature.—Among the few men of learning who flourished during this gloomy period may be noticed Rather, Bishop of Verona, a native of the Netherlands, who attacked the ignorance, coarseness, and immorality of the monks, and suffered grievous persecution on account of his opinions; Luitprand, Bishop of Cremona, who wrote an account of his embassy to Constantinople in the reign of Otho I., as well as a history of the popes; Wittekind of Corvey, author of a valuable history of the Saxons; and Dittmar, Bishop of Merseburg, who wrote a history of the Saxon emperors, with an especial account of the Sclavonians, among

whom he lived. In Dittmar's chronicle we find anecdotes of Sclavonic outbreaks, and bishops hunted into the water by the bloodhounds of ferocious counts, agreeably interspersed with minute accounts of the good bishop's own dreams, and the "wonderful fulfilment of the same;" of gibbering spectres haunting deathbeds; and of a knocking ghost, which, like the famous visitant of Cock Lane, disturbed the rest of a respectable family, until he was laid by the parish priest. "It was in the days of the Emperor Otho I., of blessed memory," thus begins one of his tales, "that his daughter-in-law, the lady Iola, she, I mean, who gave so largely to the church at Rochlitz, beheld a strange and unnatural portent. She had caused a feast to be prepared for the workmen employed in restoring the church, and was herself in the act of serving them at table, when lo! the bread which she pierced with her knife sent forth streams of foul and clotted blood; a sure sign and token," such is his conclusion, "of the blood to be shed in the war which soon afterwards took place."

To these names may be added that of Roswitha, of Gandersheim, who, with a taste somewhat singular in a lady, and she a nun, amused herself with the composition of Latin comedies in imitation of Terence.

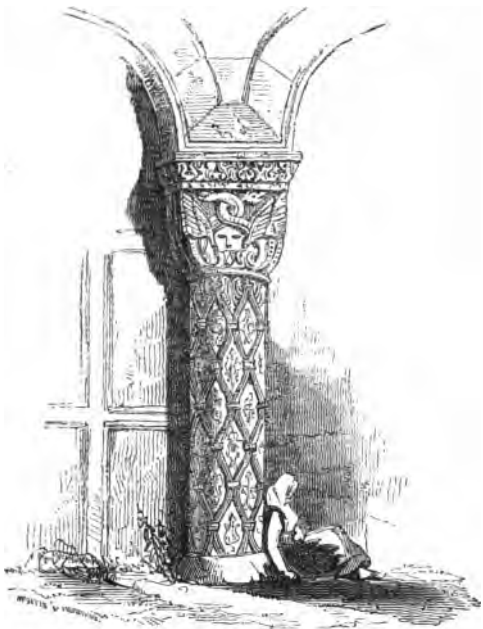
The Arts.—Architecture, it appears, was so successfully cultivated during the reigns of the Saxon emperors, that in the following century Germany, instead of copying the Byzantine model of the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, herself introduced that noble style which we distinguish by the name of Gothic. The transition from the former of these styles to the latter is seen in the cathedral of Strasburg, the foundation of which was laid in 1015. Painting and music were also cultivated with success. The art of making statues in plaster, which were afterwards hardened in the fire, was also known. Bells came into general use in this century.

Dress.—Many changes took place in dress, particularly in that of the ladies, on which Dittmar of Merseburg comments with great severity, accusing them in his quaint old style of "making their backs the stands whereon pedlars were wont to exhibit their trumpery wares; whilst modesty, the fairest adornment of women, was set aside as a thing of nought."

CHAPTER XII.

CONRAD II.—HENRY III., SURNAMED THE BLACK

From A.D. 1024 to 1056.



Goslar Cathedral — Pillar of the Porch.

As soon as the death of Henry was announced, the States of the Empire assembled to elect his successor. The place of meeting was a plain on the banks of the Rhine between Mentz and Oppenheim, where the dukes, counts, archbishops, bishops, and abbots, appeared in person, attended by an immense army of their vassals, and encamped on both sides of the river, the Rhenish Franks and Lorrainers being on the left bank, the Saxons, Swabians, and other German nations on the right. The two candidates for the throne were Conrad the Elder (surnamed the Salian, as being, according to tradition, a descendant of the Merovingian princes), and his cousin of the same name, a year younger than himself. Both were Franconian princes, and

grandsons of Conrad, duke of that country. The elder, son of Henry, Duke of Franconia, had, as we have seen, been recommended by the late Emperor on his deathbed: the younger had also strong claims on the electors, as being the son of an elder brother, and himself a man of no inconsiderable ability. Before the election began, it was proposed by the elder Conrad, that each of them should pledge himself to do homage to his cousin, in the event of his obtaining a majority of votes. It was better, he said, for either of them to be only a relative of the reigning house, than that the crown, through any dispute of theirs, should go into another family. To this proposal the younger cordially assented, and gave his hand to his cousin, who embraced him affectionately, and being elected with only two dissentient voices, placed him by his side amidst the acclamations of the electors and their vassals.

The first care of the new king was to make a progress through his dominions, with the view of appeasing those feuds by which the country had been so long distracted. Then he visited Italy, where the people, who believed that the hereditary right of the emperors had expired with Henry II., were on the eve of electing the son of the King of France. After being detained a whole year before the city of Pavia, Henry at length reached Rome, where he was crowned with great pomp, two sovereign princes being present at the solemnity, viz., Rudolph of Burgundy and Canute the mighty sovereign of Scandinavia and England. The latter gave his daughter in marriage to Conrad's son, and received in return the March of Sleswick, which was no longer of any value to Germany as a barrier against the people of the North, who had all become Christians. The river Eyder thus became, as it had been in Charlemagne's days, the boundary of the empire on that side.

Among the laws which Conrad framed for the good of his people, one of the most beneficial was that which made the smaller fiefs hereditary, first in Italy and afterwards in Germany. Hitherto the weak vassal had been little better than the slave of his powerful lord. It was now provided that every fief (not held immediately from the crown) should be regularly transmitted from father to son; that all delinquent vassals should be tried, not as heretofore by their lords, but by a jury of men of their own rank; and that in the event of his feeling aggrieved, any vassal might appeal from his lord to the Emperor. Conrad died in 1039,

and was buried at Spires. During his reign the kingdom of Burgundy, which now comprehended Provence, Dauphiné, Savoy, and parts of Helvetia, was annexed to the possessions of the German crown. Conrad must be reckoned amongst the ablest of the German emperors.

Henry the Third was two and twenty years old when the unanimous voice of the electors called him to fill his father's throne. No emperor ever reigned with more absolute authority over the church as well as the state. The different parties in Italy having at this time chosen three different Popes, each of whom claimed the obedience of the faithful as the Vicar of Christ on earth, Henry, who had already distinguished himself by putting down formidable insurrections in Bohemia and Burgundy, entered Italy in the character of an arbitrator, and after listening to the claims of the three Popes, determined to show his power by removing them all, and placing a German (Clement II.) on the papal throne.

In 1056, Henry I., King of France, having renewed his claim on Burgundy and Lorraine, the Emperor challenged him to single combat, and, at a meeting of the two sovereigns at Ivois, threw down his gauntlet, according to the practice of those days: but the French King, instead of accepting the challenge, quitted the town and returned to his capital. The same year Germany was visited by earthquakes, famine, and pestilence, and before its conclusion the Emperor died in the flower of his age, leaving the reins of government to his widow Agnes and his son Henry, a child of five years old. During this reign Hungary was annexed to the German crown.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XII.

Henry III. and the Popedom.—On his way to Rome in 1046 Henry was met by a hermit, who presented him with a paper containing the following lines:—

Una Sunamitis
Nupsit tribus maritis :
Rex Henrice,
Omnipotentis vice
Solve connubium
Triforme, dubium.

The Sunamite woman was the papacy, and the three husbands Benedict IX., Silvester III., and Gregory VI. Henry, as we

have seen, answered the appeal by deposing all three, in a great Council which he held at Sutri. Gregory VI. was banished to Germany, and the celebrated monk, Hildebrand, who was now beginning to distinguish himself at the papal court, was sent to bear him company.

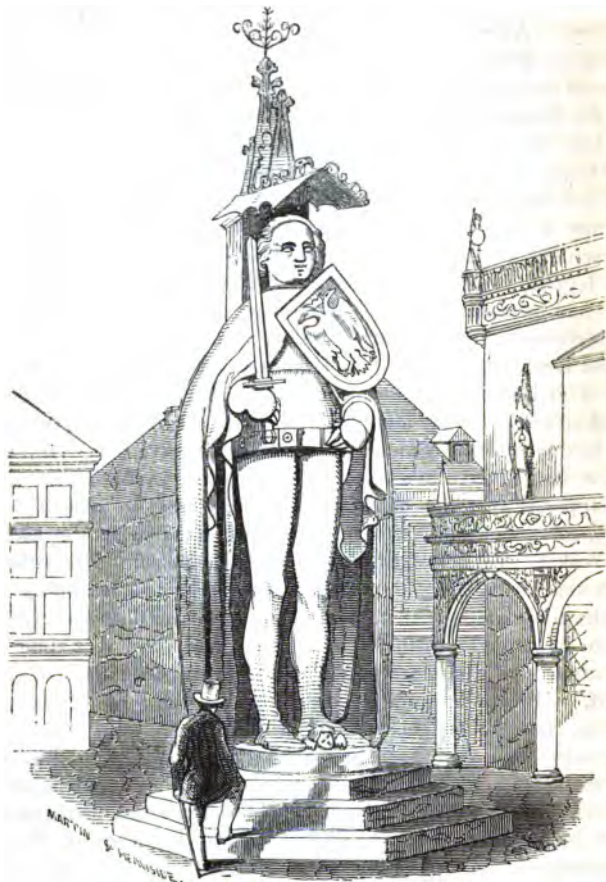
No emperor exercised a greater power over the popedom than Henry. After the death of Clement II. he caused another German, Bruno, bishop of Toul, a relation of his own, to be elected pope in the *Diet of Worms*. The election was confirmed by the Roman clergy and people. Bruno, who assumed the title of Leo IX., passed much of his time in Germany.

Origin of the Guelphs.—The origin of the Guelphs, or Welfs, who are first mentioned in the reign of Conrad II., and afterwards occupy a prominent position in the history of the empire, was miraculous, if we may believe tradition. "Once on a time," says the legend, "Isebrand, Count of Altdorf, met an old woman who had brought forth three children at a birth, and assailed her with coarse and unmanly ridicule. Full of rage, the old beldame raised her hands to heaven, and prayed that the wife of the Count might at her next confinement become the mother of as many children as there were months in the year. Her wish was fulfilled, for in due time the countess brought forth twelve sons; eleven of whom she delivered to a maid to be drowned in the lake. Now it happened that the handmaiden on her way to execute this commission met the Count, who inquired of her what she had in her basket. 'Whelps' (*Welfen*), said the damsel. Not satisfied with this reply, the Count raised the cloth, and beholding the children, commanded that they should be carried to the palace, where he brought them up as his own, and from that time the descendants of those rescued children have borne the name of Welf." In the eleventh century, Azzo, Lord of Milan and Genoa, became connected with a branch of this family by marriage; and at a later period his descendants, as well as the representatives of the German line, were the founders of a powerful political party in Italy and Germany, which distinguished itself by its support of the Popes, and its advocacy of Italian independence, in opposition to the Ghibellines, who took part with the emperors. A descendant of the Guelphic house, George, Elector of Hanover, ascended the British throne on the death of Queen Anne in 1714.

CHAPTER XIII.

HENRY IV.

From A.D. 1056 to 1075.



Statue of Roland.

HENRY IV. was only five years old when his father died; the management of the kingdom was therefore intrusted to his mother, Agnes, a woman of pious character and cultivated understanding,

but wanting in the energy necessary to control the turbulent nobles, who now availed themselves of their sovereign's minority to renew their attacks on the privileges of the crown, and the liberties of the people. The first step of the regent, although dictated by kind and Christian motives, was ill-judged and unfortunate. The enemies of her house were not only pardoned, but admitted to offices of the highest trust and honour. One of these men, named Rudolph of Rheinfelden, had forcibly carried off her daughter, a child of eleven years old; and Agnes, so far from punishing him for his crime, had conferred on him the dukedom of Swabia, and the vice-royalty of Burgundy. The former of these dignities had been promised by Henry III. to Berthold of Zahringen, who, furious at what he reasonably enough considered a gross act of injustice, forced his way into the presence of the regent, and, exhibiting a ring which Henry had given him as a pledge of his good faith, complained in no very gentle or respectful language of the injury which he had sustained; and was only pacified by being invested with the dukedom of Carinthia and the county of Verona in Italy. In the same manner the dukedoms of Lorraine and Bavaria were conferred on enemies of the imperial house. By such concessions Agnes hoped to conciliate those whose opposition she had reason to dread; but the event soon convinced her that she had committed a fatal error in conferring favours on men incapable of gratitude, and guided only by the dictates of ambition. Her chief counsellor and favourite was Henry, Bishop of Augsburg, a man of upright but stern and unbending character, who caused universal discontent by his endeavours to remedy the evils which he was assured would result from the injudicious concessions of his mistress.

The kind-hearted regent was in consequence represented as a feeble and vicious woman, whose criminal affection for the bishop rendered her incapable of carrying out those plans of conciliation and benevolence which she had contemplated at the beginning of her administration. At length the flame which had gone on smouldering for two years burst forth. A conspiracy was formed to carry off the young king, and deprive his mother of the regency.

Hanno, Archbishop of Cologne, a man of rigid morals, considerable talent, and great experience, invited the queen-mother and her young son to enjoy the festivities of Easter on the island of Kaiserswerth (*the Emperor's isle*) in the Rhine. After the

banquet, the young king was decoyed on board the archbishop's pleasure-boat, which immediately shoved off and rowed towards the main land. Finding that the intention of the conspirators was to separate him from his mother, the courageous boy sprang into the stream, but was dragged back into the boat by Egbert of Brunswick. In vain did the agonized parent implore the assistance of her attendants; none dared to help her farther than by pursuing the conspirators with yells of execration. Henry was brought to Cologne, and placed under the guardianship of the archbishop, who immediately proclaimed himself regent of the kingdom.

The unhappy queen, finding all hope vain of rescuing her child, and abandoned even by those on whom she had heaped so many favours, wished to retire into a convent in Italy, and was only withheld by the energetic representations of the few who remained faithful to her. In order to obtain a sanction for his usurpation, Hanno procured a law to be passed to the effect that the bishop in whose diocese the king happened to reside should be intrusted with the administration of the kingdom. Still he was well aware that there were many other nobles, scarcely less powerful than himself, who would probably dispute with him the possession of the sovereign's person: he therefore proposed to Adelbert, Archbishop of Bremen, that Henry should reside in his diocese at a subsequent period, and that the regency meanwhile should be administered by the two prelates conjointly. No characters could be more opposite than those of the men who had thus taken upon them the government of Germany. Hanno, a dark stern zealot, of irreproachable morals, but rigid, inflexible character, was acquainted with no system of education except that of the cloister. Adelbert of Bremen, on the contrary, was a lover of luxury and pomp, a jovial companion at the banquet, and strongly suspected of a propensity to pleasures still more exceptionable. In their hearts the two prelates were the bitterest enemies, and agreed only in striving, each to the full extent of his power, to tyrannize over and plunder the German empire.

The means which they employed for the attainment of this object were illustrative of their different characters. Whilst Hanno endeavoured to increase his influence by conferring bishoprics on his relations and dependants, his rival sought to dazzle the people by the magnificence of his court and the gorgeous suite of vassals by whom he was attended. His profusion was as boundless as

his ambition. Often in a fit of ostentatious generosity he would bestow on a single beggar a sum sufficient for the relief of fifty poor families : or waste his revenues in forming gardens on sandy ground, or vineyards on cold clayey soils, in order to obtain the glory of having compelled even nature to yield to his power.

The young king, whose unfortunate fate had thrown him into the hands of two guardians so unfit for the task which they had undertaken, possessed a pliancy of disposition which rendered his character peculiarly susceptible of injury from the opposite but equally faulty systems pursued by his instructors. Whilst Hanno, by educating him as he would have educated the meanest chorister of his church, excited in his young mind feelings of bitter hatred towards his severe taskmaster, Adelbert (to whose care he was committed in turn) corrupted his morals by the daily scenes of licentiousness which disgraced the palace at Bremen. The first lesson which the young monarch learnt was the dangerous one, that kings are accountable for their actions to none but God ; the second, that the dukes of the empire, his natural enemies, as he was told, were to be hunted down with as little remorse as wild beasts. The court resembled that of our own licentious monarch Charles II., where wit and talent were cherished and applauded as the handmaids of sensuality. The most serious affairs of state were transacted over the wine cup, or in the society of abandoned women ; and many were the jests passed on the German people, whom the witty flatterers of the king represented as donkeys, fit only to be cudgelled into bearing the burdens which their sovereign might do them the honour of laying on their backs. The Saxons, with whom Adelbert had long been at variance, were unceasingly reviled, and a prejudice created in the mind of Henry, which at a later period of his reign was the cause of much bloodshed and misery.

In the year 1063 the young king accompanied his guardian in an expedition against the Hungarians, and returned after a successful campaign, more than ever delighted with his unprincipled instructor. Two years later, Henry, being now fifteen years of age, was girded with the sword of knighthood, and declared a man. No sooner was this ceremony performed than he drew his sword, and made several passes in jest against the person of his ancient persecutor, Archbishop Hanno, whom he now treated with undisguised contempt ; whilst Adelbert, secure of his influence over the king, conducted himself even more

insolently than before. Among other instances of his arrogance and total want of decency, we are told that he was in the habit of boxing the ears of bishops and abbots whenever they happened to offend him. The revenues of his bishopric, ample as they were, proving insufficient for the support of his profusion, he carried on a shameful trade in the sale of ecclesiastical offices, and even melted down and sold the candlesticks and other ornaments of his church. Henry, who now resided at Goslar in Saxony, did full justice to the instructions which he had received at Bremen. His court was a scene of the most undisguised and shameless profligacy. Women of abandoned character might be seen blazing in jewels, which had been torn from the priestly robes and furniture of his church by Archbishop Adelbert, whilst wine was quaffed, as in the impious feast of Belshazzar, out of the chalice and other vessels of the altars.

To support the expenses of this court, contributions were levied on the people of the surrounding country, whose murmurs and remonstrances were treated with contempt. At this crisis the Archbishops of Cologne and Mentz assembled the princes of the empire to take into consideration the affairs of Germany; and Henry and Adelbert, knowing the danger which threatened them, repaired to Tribur (where the Diet was held) in the hope of being able to defeat the designs of their enemies; but the princes resolved unanimously that no choice should be allowed to the king except that of abandoning Adelbert or resigning the crown. Henry, unwilling to renounce his favourite, endeavoured to escape by night, carrying with him the regalia of the empire; but his enemies having surrounded his palace with a guard, his attempt was frustrated. A second council was then held, at which scenes of great violence were enacted, and the archbishop hardly escaped being personally ill-treated by the enraged princes. After a stormy debate, it was at length resolved by a great majority that Henry should be called on to dismiss his favourite, renounce his profligate course of life, and marry Bertha, daughter of the Italian Margrave of Susa, a woman of the most estimable character, to whom he had been formerly betrothed. Yielding to necessity, Henry dismissed the archbishop, and retired with his bride to Goslar. Adelbert, being now exposed unprotected to the fury of his enemies, was plundered of all his possessions, and reduced to a state of the most abject poverty. Meanwhile Henry, deeming himself safe in his castle of Goslar, returned

to his old profligate life, and treated his wife with great cruelty. In order to overawe the Saxons, strong fortresses were built in different parts of the country; and at length, in the year 1068, the insurrection was quelled. But he had made other enemies. The Archbishop of Mentz had obtained a promise from the king that he would assist him in chastising the Thuringians on condition of his using his influence with the court of Rome to procure a divorce for Henry; but the application was peremptorily rejected by the Pope, and the princes of Germany, in a diet held at Frankfort, declared their approbation of his refusal. At last, in despair, Henry consented to retain his wife, and after a time was so touched by the gentle patience with which she had borne all his neglect, that he began to treat her with as much affection as his depraved heart was capable of feeling; and was abundantly requited by finding in her the most constant of friends and wisest of counsellors. In the year 1069 Henry's evil genius, the Archbishop of Bremen, again appeared at Goslar, and from that moment all hopes of amendment were at an end. Adelbert at first seemed humbled and improved by his misfortunes, and showed some disposition to bear his faculties more meekly than he had hitherto done; but ease and luxury soon brought back all his old dispositions, and in a very few months his insolence and profligacy were displayed as offensively as they had ever been in former days. The chief object of his indignation was Otho, Duke of Bavaria, who had played a conspicuous part at the diet of Tribur. In order to effect his ruin, a false witness was suborned, who swore that he had been hired by Otho to assassinate the king, and showed the sword which, as he pretended, the duke had given him for that purpose. Otho met this accusation by a denial of his guilt, and it was arranged that the question should be decided, according to the practice of those times, by ordeal of battle: but the duke refusing to appear at the place appointed for the combat, a second assembly was summoned, consisting entirely of his enemies, which pronounced him guilty of the charge, and authorised the king to invade Bavaria and Saxony. Otho was not slow in making reprisals; and with an army of 3000 Bavarians ravaged the possessions of the crown in Thuringia: but having, after an ineffectual struggle, surrendered himself in order to spare the further effusion of blood, he was thrown into prison, whence he was subsequently released by command of Henry. Archbishop Adelbert was dead, but his spirit seemed still

to guide the counsels of the king. The Saxons, goaded almost to madness by a succession of insults, sent a deputation of their nobles to remonstrate with him ; but, after waiting a whole day in the ante-room, they were told that the king had ridden out, and that there was no hope of their obtaining an audience until the morrow. Indignant at this gross affront, the Saxon nobles swore that they would defend the liberties of their countrymen even to the death, and no longer submit to the exactions and insults of the king. Messengers were at the same time despatched to the other provinces of Germany, imploring them not to assist Henry in his attempts to enslave their brethren. In the year 1073, the conspirators, at the head of 60,000 men, appeared before the castle of Hartzburg and made the following demands : 1. That the king should dismantle all the fortresses which he had built in Saxony, and transfer himself and his court to some other part of the country ; 2. That he should release Duke Magnus of Saxony, whom he had thrown into prison ; and 3. That he should dismiss all his evil counsellors. In case of his refusal to comply with these demands, they were determined at once to renounce their allegiance. Henry, in the greatest embarrassment, endeavoured to appease them by fair words ; and, whilst the negotiations were pending, quitted Goslar, and went to reside at Hersfeld, in Hesse. Soon afterwards Duke Magnus was exchanged for seventy Swabians, who had been taken in battle : whence the Saxon proverb, " One Saxon is worth seventy Swabians." On reaching Hersfeld, Henry threw himself on his knees before the assembled princes, and in the most abject manner implored their assistance. A day was appointed, on which the Saxons should meet the royal commissioners for the purpose of settling the matters in dispute. On that day 16,000 Saxons appeared at the place of meeting, and after much discussion it was settled, that they should give satisfaction to the king for their insurrection, and that Henry on his part should forgive them all that was past, and remove their grievances. Henry naturally concluded that the performance of these conditions would restore tranquillity ; but he soon found that the treacherous nobles, whilst they seemed to be using their best efforts to bring back the Saxons to their allegiance, were in reality plotting with them another and more general insurrection, the object of which was to depose the king, and place Rudolph of Swabia on the throne. That they might have some pretext for this act of treason, they persuaded one

Reginar to come forward and swear that he had been hired by the king to assassinate the Dukes of Swabia and Carinthia. All the princes pretended to believe this accusation, and gave the king to understand, that, unless he could exculpate himself, they would renounce their allegiance. A diet was then held at Ratisbon, and measures concerted for depriving Henry of the crown; but his good fortune once more prevailed, and brought him help from a quarter whence he had little reason to expect it. The long period of peace which Germany had enjoyed under the kings of the Saxon line, had raised up in the towns a body of opulent traders, who contemplated the prospect of civil war with undisguised apprehension. These men were all expert in the use of arms; for even in the most tranquil days of that barbarous period no man's life or property was safe unless he could defend them with his own sword. As soon as they heard of the Saxon insurrection, and the treachery of the nobles, the burghers resolved to venture goods, life, and limb in defence of their sovereign. The city of Worms invited him to take refuge within its walls; and when their bishop, a brother of Rudolph of Swabia, refused to sanction this proceeding, they at once expelled him, and, marching with a considerable force, met Henry, and conducted him in triumph into the city. Ulrich of Cosheim, one of the king's most faithful friends, now offered to do battle on behalf of his master with the accuser Reginar; but before they could meet, the wretch died raving mad; and the superstitious people, thinking that they discerned the finger of God in this judgment, at once pronounced Henry innocent, and overwhelmed his accusers with their curses. The Saxons also concluded a peace with the king at Gerstingen, the chief condition of which was that all the royal fortresses in Saxony should be put into their hands, and levelled with the ground—a work which they performed with great zeal, and often with disgusting barbarity, particularly at the Hartzburg, where they disinterred and insulted the corpse of Henry's son. This atrocity roused the king, who declared that he no longer considered himself bound by the conditions of the peace. The nobles were now on his side, for they had taken deep offence at the Saxons for having presumed to conclude a peace without their sanction; and Henry soon found himself at the head of a powerful army, with which he encountered the enemy near the town of Langen-Salza, in Thuringia. The combat lasted the whole day, and, at its conclusion, the Saxons, who had

lost 8000 men, surrendered themselves to Henry, as their fathers had often done to Charlemagne, determined to burst the chain as soon as a favourable opportunity should occur for renouncing their forced allegiance.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XIII.

Gregory VII.—About the middle of the eleventh century appeared a man who was destined to work a mighty alteration in the spiritual as well as temporal affairs of the empire. Hildebrand, the son of a Roman blacksmith, or, according to other authorities, of a petty proprietor in the little town of Soano, had risen by his talents to the highest offices of the church, and was eminently qualified by character as well as abilities to act the part of a reformer. To a rigid firmness of disposition, which no terrors could shake, he united the most saintlike purity of life and the greatest contempt for the pleasures of the world; yet he possessed an acquaintance with human nature which astonished those who believed that such knowledge could only be obtained by a practical familiarity with the crooked by-ways of vice. So great was his eloquence, that Henry the Third, when Hildebrand preached before him, declared that no sermon had ever affected him so deeply. His notions of the papal power were extravagantly exalted. “As ‘man,’” he was wont to say, “consists of soul and body, so do human affairs consist of spiritual and earthly; and as the body is ruled by the soul, so ought the world to be governed by the church. As there are two great lights in heaven, the sun and the moon, so are there two mighty rulers on earth, the Pope and the Emperor. Now, as the moon derives her light from the sun, so is all the power of the Emperor derived from the Pope. The Pope is the successor of the Apostle Peter, to whom the Saviour said ‘Feed my sheep.’ Now God having placed all things under the feet of his Son, and Peter being the successor of Christ, and the Pope the successor of St. Peter, it follows that all earthly principalities, and powers, and dominions should be subject to him who is the representative of God in the world.” With such views it was only natural that Hildebrand should employ the influence arising from his position as confidential adviser of five successive popes, to increase by every means within his reach the authority of the papal see. Allowing that the church was corrupt, he fancied that he saw the cause of that

sinfulness and corruption in the enslaved state of the ecclesiastical power. Hitherto the popes had been elected by the Roman clergy and people, but the emperor enjoyed the right of confirming or annulling these elections. The emperor also claimed the prerogative of assembling councils, and of appointing them to decide on the affairs of the church. He also possessed the right of conferring the great ecclesiastical benefices in Germany, of receiving their revenues during a vacancy, and of succeeding to the property of ecclesiastics who died intestate. Were the arm of the Pope free, he would cast out of the building every stone of offence, and restore the sanctuary to its original beauty. But in order to attain this important object the election of the popes must be wholly independent of the emperor; he therefore proposed, at the beginning of Henry's reign, that they should be chosen by a college of cardinals. This proposition being adopted at a council held at Rome, in 1059, the sacred college, as it was called, was formed after the model of those chapters which had long been attached to the episcopal sees. Hildebrand was appointed a member of this college (which consisted of seventy members, in imitation of the college of our Lord's first disciples), and archdeacon or chief secretary of the Pope. The next step was to obtain for the pontiffs, thus independently elected, an increase of temporal power, which was effected by persuading the Norman kings in Naples and Sicily to hold their crowns as fiefs, not of the emperors, but of the popes, thus giving them an authority, as feudal sovereigns, which hitherto none but the emperors had enjoyed. In this manner the foundation was laid of that mighty structure which Hildebrand, when he himself ascended the papal throne, raised to such an imposing height.

In the year 1073 he was elected pope, and assumed the title of Gregory VII.; and, in addition to his compact with the Normans, formed a strict alliance with Matilda, Countess of Tuscany. Thus supported on both sides, Hildebrand combated fearlessly the abuses of the church, and that which he conceived to be the chief cause of them—the interference of the temporal magistrate in spiritual concerns. His first attacks were directed against the simony or corrupt purchasing of ecclesiastical offices (so called from the crime of Simon Magus, who sought to buy with money the gift of working miracles), which for a long time had prevailed to a fearful extent. Two decrees of general councils were published, forbidding this practice on pain of excommunication.

Having succeeded thus far, Gregory next proposed a measure from which even his fearless soul would probably have shrunk, had not the change which he sought to introduce been in full accordance with the spirit of the age. Hitherto only the monks had led lives of celibacy, the bishops and secular priests being permitted to marry or not, as they thought fit. Gregory perceived that as long as the clergy were permitted to marry, they would have interests independent of the church; but if he could succeed in enforcing celibacy, those affections which had hitherto been shared by wives and children would be exclusively devoted to their order, to the Pope, and as he believed, or affected to believe, to heaven. Thus did Gregory seek to lay the foundation of that system which for nearly eight hundred years has been employed to increase the influence of the Romish church at the expense, in many instances, of the happiness and morality of her clergy. The change, although agreeable to the laity, was by no means equally acceptable to the clergy themselves. In every part of the empire an outcry was raised against the tyranny of the Pope; and at Erfurt, where the Archbishop of Mentz attempted to read the edict to a council of bishops, there arose such an uproar that his life was in danger. But Gregory was not to be so easily defeated. Relying on the sympathy of the people, and the co-operation of the monks, he excommunicated all the secular clergy, forbidding their congregations to listen to the masses celebrated by them. This had its effect; for in a short time, although the bishops of Constance and Ratisbon clearly proved from Scripture that marriage was honourable in all, the Germans were compelled to yield; and the celibacy of the clergy became thenceforward one of the fundamental laws of the Romish church.

The next year Gregory passed a law forbidding lay patronage, and thus struck at the root of simony, which for a long time had been shamelessly practised by the ministers and favourites of the Emperor. It was now ordered that all bishops should be elected by the clergy, and their election confirmed by the Pope, and that the Emperor should no longer interfere in their appointment. Thus the papal see became the sole patron and proprietor of those enormous ecclesiastical endowments which had hitherto been held as fiefs of the empire; and the priesthood, formed into a compact society, equally independent of the control of earthly sovereigns and the ties of domestic affection, hoped to reign without restraint

over the whole Christian world. That this formidable body might have a recognized head, Gregory declared that the Pope alone had the power of summoning general councils, and that the proceedings of such as were called without his sanction were null and void. In imitation of Charlemagne, who had sent commissioners into different parts of the empire, he despatched ambassadors or *legates*, whose business it was to support the power and watch over the interests of the church in those countries to which they were accredited. As the principle on which these enormous usurpations were grounded, it was solemnly proclaimed that "the Pope was through God and instead of God upon earth, and therefore that all things temporal as well as spiritual were subject to his power."

Rise and growth of the German cities.—The events related in the preceding chapter show that the German cities had already attained a considerable degree of importance. The ancient Germans, as we have seen, detested cities. They laid in ruins those which had been built by the Romans on the south side of the Danube, in Switzerland, and on the left bank of the Rhine, and continued to live in scattered dwellings. By degrees, however, as the population increased, villages began to spring up around the castles of the nobility, the cathedrals and cloisters of the abbots and bishops, and the palaces of the emperor. But these villages were at first without walls, and their inhabitants nothing but serfs. Henry the Fowler saw the use which might be made of these villages as a defence against the attacks of the Hungarians; and, as we have already related, converted many of them, especially those which surrounded the churches, into towns and cities, by providing them with walls and ramparts. His policy was followed by his successors, and particularly by the Othos, who looked upon the cities as their best safeguard against the power of the dukes and princes of the empire. Hence they conferred charters upon them, and privileges which had hitherto been enjoyed only by the bishops and dukes, namely, those of coining and levying customs.

The cities of the empire which thus sprung up were nominally governed by an imperial lieutenant or bailiff (*Reichsvogt*), generally some neighbouring count, who troubled himself but little about the affairs of the citizens, except to receive their presents and partake of their feasts. He was however invested with the military command of the town and the supreme administration of

justice. Under him was a court of twelve aldermen or sheriffs, elected by the burgesses, whose president, the *Schultheiss*, or mayor, at first decided only the smaller civil suits. By degrees, through the absence of the Reichsvogts, or by new privileges granted by the emperor, the mayor began to be invested with the entire government; and the aldermen, with the mayor at their head, formed a town council for the administration of affairs.

The towns of northern Germany were walled in and fortified, in order to secure them against the incursions of the Danes and Northmen. Paderborn and Bremen were fortified in the first half of the eleventh century;* yet the inhabitants of the latter trace its claims as a free city, invested with the independent administration of justice, to the time of Charlemagne. In the market place still stands a colossal statue of Roland, the favourite general of that emperor, intended, it would seem, as a personification of the supreme civil authority. The statue is eighteen feet high, and represents a warrior clothed in armour, over which is thrown a long mantle. In his right hand he holds a drawn sword, to indicate the right of inflicting capital punishment; and on the left arm is a shield ornamented with the imperial double eagle, and this inscription in low German:—

Vryheid do ick ju openbar,
De Karl und mannig Vorst ver-
wahr
Deser Stadt gegeben hat:
Des danket Gott—is min Rad.

Freedom proclaim I far and wide,
Which Charles and many a prince beside
To this our town hath giv'n indeed:
Thank God, therefore, that is my rede
(advice).

Between the feet lie the head and hands of a malefactor on whom execution has been done. The long hair, mantle, belt, and pointed knee-caps, being the costume of a knight, are emblematical of the privileges enjoyed by Bremen as a free city of the empire. The statue was erected in 1404, to replace a very ancient wooden figure destroyed in 1366.

In all these towns the nucleus of the population were the free burgesses or landed proprietors who had built houses on their own ground, and their tenants, who, although possessing no property in the city, were proprietors of lands in other districts. To these were added a crowd of persons, originally serfs, exercising mechanical trades, or employed by the free burgesses as household servants. These settlers (many of whom had taken refuge in the cities to escape the tyranny of their rural lords), although ten

* Hüllmann, *Städtewesen des Mittelalters*, ii. 169.

times more numerous than the free burgesses, were viewed with great contempt by the *Geschlechter* (families) who composed the aristocracy of the towns, and were neither permitted to hold public meetings, nor to take any part in the management of the common affairs. In later times, however, when the trades became more powerful, they formed unions of their own called *Zünfte* (guilds), each of which was governed by a guild-master, and the whole presided over by a burgo-master chosen out of their body. From the very beginning these bodies threatened to dispute the power of the *Geschlechter* and mayor; nor was it long before civil contests actually broke out.

CHAPTER XIV.

HENRY IV.

From A.D. 1075 to 1106.



Porch of the Cathedral at Goslar.

THE Saxons brought their complaints before Gregory VII., and Henry was weak enough, by lodging a counter complaint, to constitute the Pope judge of the quarrel between himself and his subjects. Gregory at once issued his summons to the king to appear at Rome, and excommunicated all the bishops who had obtained their offices at his hands by simoniacal means: whilst Henry, who little knew the inflexible energy of the Pope's character, assembled a council of German bishops at Worms, and solemnly deposed him from his office by a decree containing much gross personal abuse. This proceeding, although common enough

in the days when the papal chair was filled by weak or vicious pontiffs, and the emperors were wise and powerful, was a hazardous experiment for a prince of Henry's character to try against such a pope as Gregory VII. The effect was such as might have been expected. No sooner was the decision of the council announced at Rome, than a bull was issued, excommunicating Henry, absolving his subjects from their allegiance, and formally deposing him from the imperial and royal dignities. "In the name of Almighty God," thus ran the bull, "I interdict King Henry, son of the late Emperor Henry, from the exercise of all kingly authority, inasmuch as he hath conducted himself with unheard of naughtiness and presumption towards the church; and all Christian men I hereby absolve from any oath of allegiance which they have already taken or shall hereafter take to the said Henry, forbidding all and each of them to render unto him the obedience due to a king. And I do by these presents, and in thy name, O blessed Peter, bind him with the bonds of cursing, that all the people may know thee to be the rock on which the Son of God hath built his church." Henry at first laughed at the arrogance of this insolent priest; but was soon compelled to acknowledge that Gregory had calculated rightly on the piety of the German character.

With the exception of the cities and free peasants, all his subjects shrank from the insulter of the church as from one infected by a pestilence. The Saxons again broke out into open rebellion; whilst Lewis of Thuringia, whom the king had detained in the fortress of Giebichenstein on the Saale, escaping from his confinement by a desperate leap, joined Rudolph of Swabia and other princes at Tribur, where it was resolved in solemn diet that, unless King Henry were freed from the papal ban within a year, he should be adjudged to have forfeited his crown. To prevent his effecting such a reconciliation, by throwing himself at the feet of the Pope, all the passages of the Alps were jealously guarded; but Henry contrived to elude the vigilance of his enemies, and in the winter of 1076-7, one of the severest ever known, entered the pass of Mont Cenis, accompanied only by his faithful Bertha, their infant son, and one servant. As they advanced, the forlorn party were exposed to all the horrors attendant on a winter's journey across the Alps. Whilst the snow fell so thick as to render every step a work of increasing toil, avalanches from time to time descended with the roar of a thunder-storm, threatening

to bury them beneath the ruins of trees and fragments of rock which were detached from the side of the mountain, and came rushing down, sometimes within a few paces of the affrighted travellers. Nor were the terrors of their situation greatly diminished when a severe frost rendered the narrow pathway so slippery that they were compelled to creep on hands and feet, or slide down the glaciers, in order to save themselves from being dashed to pieces, the precipice in many places going sheer down to the depth of many hundred feet on one side of a road scarcely a yard wide, whilst a wall of rock rose on the other.

The horses, unable to retain their footing, were bound with ropes, and lowered over the edge of the precipice by peasants, whilst the queen and her infant, wrapped in an ox's hide, were dragged along the slippery causeway, their rude sledge being steadied by men who walked beside it, whenever the nature of the ground rendered such a support necessary. At length, after enduring indescribable sufferings, Henry and his small suite descended, weary and foot-sore, into the sunny plains of Lombardy. Here a scene awaited him very different from that which he had left on the other side of the Alps. The Lombards, whose king, with most of his bishops and nobles, was, like himself, under sentence of excommunication, received him cordially; and he might perhaps have compelled the Pope to reverse his sentence, had he possessed decision of character enough for any important step. For a moment Henry debated whether he should appear before the Pope as a humble pilgrim or at the head of an army; and Gregory, who was at that time on his way to Germany, seems to have doubted in which character he was to expect him; for he shut himself up in Canossa, a fortress belonging to his ally, Matilda of Tuscany, determined to proceed no farther until the intentions of the king were known. He was not kept long in suspense, for Henry, who doubted the fidelity of his Lombard allies, soon sent an abject message to the Pope, imploring an audience. After considerable delay this was granted, and the king appeared at Canossa, clothed in the hair-shirt of a penitent, with bare head, and feet miserably lacerated by the roughness of the road. Entering the castle-gate, he was insolently ordered by the guard to wait in the court-yard until it was the pleasure of the Holy Father to receive his submission, and for three days and nights he remained in the open air at that rigorous season, bare-headed and bare-footed, without food, and exposed to the brutal

scoffs of the Pope's attendants. At length, at the intercession of Matilda, Gregory consented to remove the ban, the king engaging to exercise none of the functions of royalty until a diet of the empire, assembled under the presidency of the Pope, should decide whether he might continue to wear the crown of Germany or not.

These terms being concluded, the Pope proceeded to the chapel of the castle, followed by his penitent, and there, in the presence of a crowd of people, ascended the steps of the high altar, and turning to Henry addressed him in these words:—"Thou hast oftentimes reproached me, as though I had obtained the papal crown by bribery and dishonest acts, and had disgraced the Christian religion by the foulest crimes. I now hold in my hand the body of our Lord Jesus Christ: I will divide the wafer, and myself swallow the one half, praying the Almighty to strike me suddenly dead, if the charges which thou hast brought against me are true." Having thus spoken, he swallowed a part of the wafer, and, turning again to Henry, said, "Thou too standest accused of many and great sins, on account of which I have placed thee under sentence of excommunication. If thou be innocent, swallow the rest of this wafer, and purify thyself from all suspicion." But the weak mind of Henry was not prepared to undergo this solemn ordeal, and he refused to receive the host until he had consulted with his friends and advisers. They then separated, and the king set out on his return to Germany. On the road he received intelligence that the nobles had set him aside during his absence, and elected in his room Rudolph, Duke of Swabia, whom the people in derision nick-named the Parsons' King (*den Pfaffen Koenig*), as having been raised to the throne by the intrigues of the Pope and clergy. Henry, who knew that the majority of the German people were still faithful to him, and felt besides that he might hope for the assistance of the Lombards, determined to resist to the death this usurpation of Rudolph; and, conceiving himself absolved from the promise made to the Pope by the treacherous conduct of the German nobles, he declared his intention of immediately resuming the crown. On his return to Germany, crowds of his subjects, particularly from the Rhenish towns, came to proffer their allegiance; and Henry held a solemn diet at Ulm, in which Rudolph, Berthold of Carinthia, and Guelph of Bavaria were condemned to suffer death as rebels and traitors. The dukedom of Swabia and the hand of the princess Agnes were given to

Count Frederick of Bären, who built the fortress of Hohenstaufen, from which his family derive the title so famous in later history.

The whole empire was now in confusion: there were two emperors, two popes; in every dukedom two dukes, and in every diocese two bishops. Brother fought against brother, and sons against their fathers. At length the forces of the royalists and the army of St. Peter's faithful servants (as Gregory's party styled themselves) met at Melrichstadt, near the south-west corner of the Thuringian forest, and separated without any decisive result. On the same day the royalists were beaten with great loss on the banks of the Neckar, when many thousand peasants who had fought for Henry were cruelly mutilated by his rival, because they had presumed to bear arms. In a second battle, near Fladenheim, Henry was again defeated. Gregory now confirmed the election of Rudolph, and, as the imperial jewels were in the hands of Henry, presented him with a crown, which he was to hold as a vassal of the Holy See, and which bore this inscription:—"Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rudolpho." Henry on his part a second time deposed Pope Gregory, and appointed in his place the Archbishop of Ravenna, who assumed the title of Clement III. The same year (1080) Henry and his opponents again met at Grona on the Elster, on the great plain between Merseburg and Leipzig, where so many battles have been fought. In this engagement Rudolph had his right hand smitten off by Godfrey of Bouillon, who afterwards became Duke of Lorraine and leader of the Christian armies in the first crusade. As Rudolph lay on the ground in the agonies of death, he looked sorrowfully on his hand and said, "This is the hand which was once raised to swear fealty to Henry. May God's vengeance pursue the traitors who tempted me to commit perjury." He was buried at Merseburg, and soon afterwards, when the town fell into the hands of the royalists, Henry was advised to destroy the monument which had been erected over his remains. "Would to God," was his reply, "that all my enemies were as handsomely entombed." In spite of some advantage gained in this battle, Rudolph's party, deprived of its head, gradually melted away, whilst that of Henry increased so much that he ventured to leave the prosecution of the war in Germany to Frederick of Hohenstaufen, and proceeded in person into Italy, with the intention of humbling his old enemy, Pope Gregory. Near Parma he encountered and beat Matilda's forces, and continuing his march to Rome besieged the city for three

years, during which time he caused himself to be crowned in his camp by an archbishop. At length Wiprecht of Groitsch mounted the walls, and the city was taken by storm. Gregory, who held out for some time in the castle of S. Angelo, was at last compelled to retreat by night, and retire to Salerno, where he placed himself under the protection of Robert, King of the Normans. His rival, Clement III., was then conducted to the chair of St. Peter by Henry, and placed the imperial crown on the head of his patron; but no sooner had the Germans quitted Rome than Gregory returned at the head of a large body of Normans, who committed such excesses that the populace rose and drove both them and the pope out of the city. Gregory again retired to Salerno, where he soon afterwards fell sick and died. His last words were, "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity—therefore do I die in exile."

Meanwhile the Germans, taking advantage of Henry's absence, had elected Count Herman, of Luxemburg, whom the people in derision called the Garlic King (*den Knoblauch-Koenig*), because great quantities of that herb grow in the neighbourhood of Eisleben, where his election took place. After many years of resistance, Herman, finding that he was nothing more than the tool of a party, made his peace with the emperor and retired into private life. In Italy the contest between the imperial and papal factions continued to rage with unabated fury. Gregory VII. had been succeeded by Urban II., a man of similar views, and the Italian malcontents had raised up an antagonist to Henry in the person of his own son Conrad. This was the heaviest blow which the emperor had ever experienced, and so vehement was his grief, that he was with difficulty restrained from laying violent hands on himself. But suddenly a diversion in his favour was effected by Duke Guelf of Bavaria, who had affianced his son Egbert to the old Countess Matilda of Tuscany, in the expectation that she would make him her heir. Learning, however, that she had already devised all her rich possessions to the Pope, he went over in a paroxysm of rage and disappointment to the party of the emperor. Conrad, who had treated with contempt the touching remonstrances of his father, was now excluded from the succession to the throne by a solemn act of the diet, and shortly afterwards died of disappointment. Meanwhile Henry's feud with the Pope continued, and he was excommunicated by Urban's successor, Pascal II. This encouraged the emperor's second son, Henry,

whom he had nominated his successor, to throw off his allegiance and proclaim himself king. The Pope supported him with all his influence, and the nobles of Germany, who were weary of the peaceful life which the conclusion of the war in Italy compelled them to lead, and longed for a change of masters, eagerly flocked to the standard of the young prince. In vain did the afflicted father write the most touching letters to his disobedient son: his remonstrances were treated with scorn; and no means of preserving his crown remained but marching an army against the rebel. The cities all remained faithful to the emperor, and refused to open their gates to his son. But treason soon appeared in the imperial camp, and Henry, dispirited and heart-broken, abandoned the field, and referred his cause to the diet at Mentz. The son now employed the basest treachery in order to get his father into his power. Feigning deep contrition, he persuaded the unhappy old man to meet him at Coblenz, whence they travelled together towards Mentz; but on the road the traitor contrived to separate his father's attendants from him, and, seizing his person, shut him up in the fortress of Bingen. Here he was visited by the Archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, and the Bishop of Worms, who required him to surrender the imperial jewels. Finding tears and entreaties vain, the emperor hoped to make an impression on his persecutors by appearing before them in his robes of state; but the wretches, as soon as they had recovered from their first astonishment, threw themselves on the aged monarch, and, stripping him by force of the imperial ornaments, conveyed them to his son. The diet now required that Henry should abdicate. He craved permission to appear before them at Mentz, hoping probably that the faithful burghers of that city would have rescued him; but his son, for the same reason, refused to allow him to proceed farther than Ingelheim, where he was met by the nobles of the empire. Here a scene ensued disgraceful to human nature, and uncommon even in those dark times. The father threw himself at the feet of his son, and implored him with streaming eyes to have pity on his grey hairs; but the unnatural monster and his confederates were deaf to all entreaties, and compelled the old man to sign the instrument of abdication, and acknowledge his son King of Germany by the title of Henry V. Soon afterwards the broken-hearted father ended his miserable life. A short time before his death the Rhenish states rose in his defence, and gave his son a severe check in Alsace. Henry availed himself

of this opportunity to crave from the bishop of Spire, to whose cathedral he had been in better days a munificent benefactor, a spot of consecrated ground, on which he might die in peace; but the bishop sternly replied that he could grant no favour to one who was under the ban of the Pope. So abject was his poverty at this time that he was compelled to sell his boots, in order to purchase the most common necessities of life. An asylum was at length offered him by the Duke of Lorraine, who raised an army and defeated the usurper on the banks of the Meuse. Henry V. then laid siege to Cologne, and while he was thus engaged his injured father died at Liège, solemnly declaring with his last breath that he forgave his son all his acts of disobedience, and sending him his sword and ring. The body was deposited, by permission of the Bishop of Liège, on an island of the Meuse, and for many years was watched day and night by a hermit, who had lately returned from the Holy Land. At length, in the year 1111, the sentence of excommunication being taken off, the ashes of Henry were removed to Spire, and laid by the side of her who had been the consoler of all his sorrows.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XIV.

The First Crusade—Peter the Hermit (A.D. 1093).—In the reign of Henry IV. began the first crusade. For many years it had been the practice of pious Christians to visit the scenes of the Redeemer's labours and sufferings, in the belief that prayers offered up on the very spot where the Son of God had preached, and died, and risen again, would be more acceptable to the Almighty than any devotions which could be performed elsewhere. A black robe of the coarsest serge, the cape of which was studded with cockle-shells gathered on the shores of Palestine, a long staff shod with iron, a large slouched hat, a rosary of beads, which had lain on the sepulchre of our Lord, and the faded branch of a palm-tree, were the distinguishing marks of those who returned to their native land from this holy pilgrimage. As long as the Arabs continued in possession of Jerusalem, they not only granted toleration to these inoffensive enthusiasts, but even aided them in the erection of churches, and of a hospital, which was dedicated to St. John the Baptist; but when the Turks, a horde of savage mountaineers from the Caucasus, became masters of the Holy Land, the sepulchre of Christ was defiled, and

the Christians either carried off into slavery, or treated with unbearable cruelty and oppression. An account of these enormities soon reached the West; but Gregory VII. was too much engaged in his disputes with the emperor to bestow much attention on the complaints of his persecuted brethren in Palestine, and could only reply to the prayers of the Eastern Emperor, Alexius, by vague promises, which he was never able to fulfil. Soon after the accession of Urban II. another message was received from Alexius, imploring his brethren of the western church, in the name of Him whose blood was shed for them at Jerusalem, to assist him in rescuing the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of unbelievers. About the same time there appeared in Italy a haggard and way-worn man, who rode from place to place on a sorry mule, bearing in one hand a crucifix, and in the other a letter, which purported to be a commission from the persecuted Patriarch of Jerusalem; and declaring that, as he prayed in the church of the Ascension in the Holy City, Christ himself had appeared, and commanded him to go forth and exhort the brethren to cleanse his tomb from infidel pollution. In this guise Peter of Amiens, or Peter the Hermit, as he was generally called, traversed France and Italy, preaching to the people with such fiery eloquence that thousands melted into tears, and declared their readiness to follow whithersoever he should lead them. The feelings of the people having been thus roused, Urban II. determined to follow up the work which the hermit had begun, and held a council of the church at Piacenza in Italy, at which so great a crowd attended that it was found necessary to hold the assembly in the open air. After giving audience to the ambassadors of Alexius, who prayed for assistance against the Turks, now encamped on the shores of the Bosphorus, opposite Constantinople, the Pope harangued the multitude, and a great proportion of those who were present made a solemn vow to aid the Eastern Emperor against the common enemies of Christendom. In the year 1095 Urban crossed the Alps, and entered France, where he summoned clergy and laity to meet him at a general council, to be held on the eighth day after the feast of St. Martin (Nov. 19) at Clermont in Auvergne. So great was the enthusiasm already excited by the preaching of Peter, that on the appointed day 14 archbishops, 225 bishops, and 400 abbots, besides a crowd of inferior clergy, and a countless multitude of laymen, assembled in an open plain near the town. After the

ordinary affairs of the church had been transacted, and the ban of excommunication solemnly pronounced against Philip, King of France, who was at variance with the Pope, Urban addressed the assembled multitude. The touching appeal in which he described the sufferings of the Christian pilgrims, and exhorted the assembly to rescue the Holy Sepulchre from the infidels, was answered by a universal shout of "It is the will of God!" At the conclusion of the address most of the clergy and laity present entreated permission to join the crusade. Each pilgrim then sewed on his shoulder a cross of red cloth. The flame spread with wonderful rapidity through France, Italy, England, and Gascony; for those who had themselves assumed the cross at Clermont left no means untried to induce their friends and neighbours to follow their example. The movement was at first confined in a great measure to the inferior vassals and serfs, who gladly embraced the crusade as a means of escape from the tyranny of their lords, and assembled by thousands round Peter the Hermit, and his coadjutor, Walter of Pexejo, a needy adventurer, whom men in derision named the Lord of Lackland.

The jealousy of the proud knights was roused by this demonstration, but they resolved to remain inactive for the present, and when the undisciplined rabble had melted away, then to assume the cross, and enjoy alone the glory of rescuing the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the Turks. In the spring of the year 1096 the two leaders, at the head of their motley and ill-armed troops, crossed the Rhine and entered Germany, where they were received with ridicule by the people, who, in addition to their national hatred of the French, were slow to believe that the cause could be a hopeful one which had no better supporters than a half-naked rabble. The Bishop of Strasburg alone and the Abbot of Schaffhausen joined the army, which penetrated as far as Hungary, where it was nearly annihilated by the inhabitants. Scarcely, however, had this strange apparition quitted Germany, when the people, whose character it has ever been to be most tardy in comprehending those ideas which afterwards take the deepest root in their minds, began to reflect on all that they had seen and heard; and the flame of enthusiasm at length burst forth with a violence proportionate to the slowness with which it had been kindled. Signs were observed in the heavens and on the earth; the body of Charlemagne was reported to have risen from its grave at Aachen, and declared that it was

commissioned by God to lead the crusaders; and fiery squadrons were seen fighting in the clouds, and sending down showers of blood on the horror-stricken peasantry. In a short time three armies, consisting of the inferior vassals and serfs, were raised in Germany, by Gottschalk, a monk, Volkmar, a priest, and Emicho, Count of Leiningen. Their first act was to massacre 12,000 Jews at Trèves, Cologne, and Mentz, because their forefathers had crucified the Lord of life. Then they marched into Hungary, where they soon met the fate of those who had preceded them. The attempts of the common people having thus miserably failed, the nobles now prepared to undertake the expedition with a splendour worthy of the cause. Among the most distinguished men who joined the crusades were Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine, and his brother Baldwin, Count of Flanders; Hugh de Vermandois, surnamed the Great, brother of the King of France; Robert of Normandy, brother of William the Conqueror; and Boemund, Prince of Tarento, who was accompanied by his nephew Tancred, the bravest warrior of the age. The Duke of Lorraine, with an army of 80,000 men, marched through Hungary, and reached Constantinople in safety, where they found Hugh de Vermandois with a strong French force, and were shortly afterwards joined by the rest of the crusaders. The whole force now amounted to little short of 600,000 men. The eastern nations called them Franks (because the greater portion of them were Frenchmen), a name which continues to this day to be given by the Turks to all European nations. Godfrey of Bouillon was unanimously elected generalissimo of this army, an office for which he was eminently qualified by his courage, integrity, and piety.

Having settled a dispute between the Emperor Alexius and Boemund the Norman leader, Godfrey crossed with his army into Asia Minor, where Peter the Hermit joined him with the miserable remnant of his followers. The city of Nicæa (where the famous councils of the church were held) was first attacked, and carried by storm after a desperate resistance. The army then marched southwards towards the Holy Land, and on their way took Edessa, which was given to Boemund, the Norman general. The city of Antioch, which they next invested, offered a more obstinate resistance, and was only taken at last through the treachery of a renegade. Scarcely however had the invaders got possession of the town, when an army of Turks appeared

before it, and the Christians, shut up without provisions, and compelled to subsist on the most loathsome food, were on the eve of surrendering, when a priest, named Peter Barthelemi, came forward, and declared that he had seen a vision in which it was revealed to him that the spear which had pierced the Redeemer's side was concealed in one of the old churches of the city, and that the possession of it would insure victory to the Crusaders. After a long search, an old spear-head was dug up, and elevated on the ramparts as the standard of the Christian army.

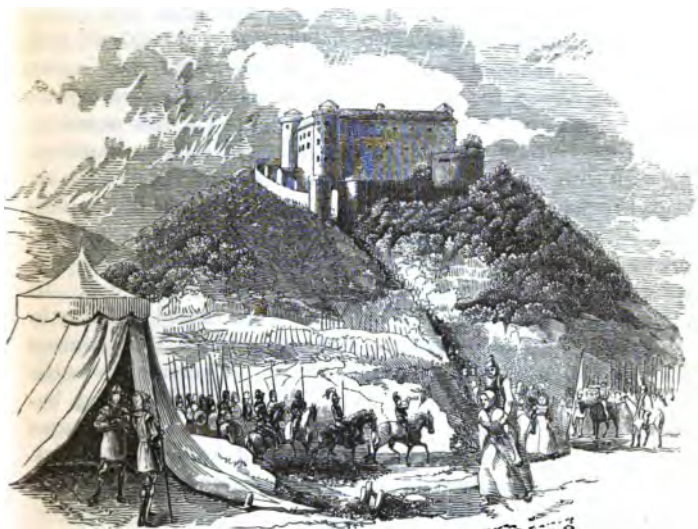
The Crusaders now gathered fresh courage, and rushing out of the gates, attacked the Turkish force with a fury which nothing could resist. The Archangel Michael was distinctly seen, as they asserted, aiding them with the armies of heaven. The Turks, although far superior in number, were utterly routed, and their rich camp became a prey to the conquerors. Again the army was put in motion, and after suffering severely from hunger, thirst, disease, and the almost unremitting attacks of the enemy, came at length in sight of Jerusalem. All fell on their knees and kissed the sacred ground. But a terrible struggle yet awaited them. Pestilence, and the sword, and desertion had reduced the army of the Crusaders to 1500 cavalry and 20,000 infantry, and with this miserably insufficient force they were to attack the strong city of Jerusalem, which was garrisoned by at least 40,000 Saracens. But the enthusiasm of the Christians elevated them above all considerations of personal danger. Heaven itself fought for them, as they believed. From the Mount of Olives, the very scene of our Lord's mysterious agony, Peter the Hermit addressed the Crusaders in a strain of high-wrought enthusiasm. Then the attack commenced and continued without intermission for two days. The besieged fought with the most desperate bravery, showering down stones, melted pitch, and the destructive composition called Grecian fire, on the heads of their assailants. But the firm belief that God was on their side animated the besiegers to more than human exertions. When the struggle was at the fiercest, a cry was raised that there had appeared on the Mount of Olives a form in bright raiment, holding a glittering shield, with which it pointed towards the city. On receiving this intelligence, a shout of triumph burst from the multitude, and amidst cries of "God helpeth us," and "God willeth it," the gates were forced open, and the battlements

scaled. Still the besieged contested every inch of ground, until the streets were choked with the bodies of the fallen, and the Christians, wading through streams of blood, and clambering over the smoking ruins, moved in solemn procession with bare heads and feet to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, to return thanks to God for their almost miraculous success. The sepulchre of Christ was now free, and the great object of the Crusaders attained; but in order to secure their new acquisition, it was necessary that some form of government should be established: they therefore assembled, and having erected Jerusalem into a kingdom, offered the crown to Godfrey de Bouillon. But the pious hero refused to wear it in the city where his Saviour had been crowned with thorns, and contented himself with the title of Protector of the Holy Sepulchre. Edessa and Antioch were made principalities, of which Boemund governed the first, and Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, the other. Two years afterwards Godfrey died in consequence of the fatigue which he had undergone during the siege, and was succeeded on the throne of Jerusalem by his brother Baldwin. A few years later the hospital of St. John was restored, and an order of knights founded called Knights Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John, who took the monastic vows of chastity, obedience, and poverty, and devoted themselves to the care of the sick. About the same time, Hugh de Puyens and Godfrey de St. Omer founded another knightly order on the spot where the Temple of Solomon had once stood. These knights were called Knights Templars, and, in addition to the usual monastic vows, swore to defend the Redeemer's Sepulchre against the enemies of the Christian faith.

CHAPTER XV.

HENRY V.—LOTHARIO—CONRAD III. (OF HOHENSTAUFEN.)

From A.D. 1106 to 1152.



Castle of Weinsberg, from a Painting preserved in the Church of the Village.

ONE of the first acts of Henry's reign was to cross the Alps with an army, and compel the Pope, Pascal II., to renounce the right of investiture. Scarcely, however, had he quitted Rome, when the populace forced the Pope to recall all his concessions, and excommunicate Henry. In the year 1122 a compact was made, called the Concordat of Worms, by which the rights of the Emperor and those of the Pope were clearly defined. The bishops were to be chosen by the clergy of their respective dioceses, who composed what was called the chapter: at this election the Emperor himself was either to be present in person, or to send his representative; and should any dispute arise, it was to be referred to him: then the new bishop was to take the oath of allegiance as a vassal of the empire, and the Pope was to invest him with the ring and pastoral staff, as emblems of his spiritual

authority. Three years afterwards the Emperor died at Utrecht, and the Salique or Frankish house ceased to reign in Germany.

As soon as the death of Henry V. was known, the German dukes and nobles, with their vassals and knights, assembled on the left bank of the Rhine, between Mentz and Worms, for the purpose of electing his successor. The four principal nations of Germany, viz., the Saxons, Franconians, Swabians, and Bavarians, appeared at this meeting to the number of 60,000, all well armed and appointed; and each chose ten nobles, who again chose one, thus reducing the number of those who were to vote at the election to four, one for each nation. On this occasion, Frederick, Duke of Swabia, brother-in-law of the late Emperor, behaved with such unwarrantable insolence that the electors set aside his claim, and chose Lothario of Saxony, Duke of Supplinburg, who immediately renounced all the advantages which his predecessor had obtained by the Concordat of Worms, and even consented to hold his crown as a vassal of the Holy See. In eternal remembrance of this event the Pope caused a picture to be painted on the walls of the Vatican, in which the Emperor was represented on his knees before him. Underneath was the inscription,—“*Rex homo fit Papae*,” that is, “The King becomes the Pope’s man (or vassal).” Most of these measures were dictated by his dread of the powerful brothers, Frederick and Conrad, Dukes of Swabia and Franconia, and representatives of the house of Hohenstaufen.

During the greater part of his reign he carried on a bloody war with these princes; and it was not until the year 1135 that a truce was concluded between the two powerful factions. Two years afterwards Lothario died in a peasant’s hut on the Alps. The whole kingdom was now divided into two parties, the Guelphs or adherents of Henry the Proud, Duke of Bavaria and Saxony, and the Waiblingers (so called from a little Swabian town of that name), who supported the Hohenstaufen. These Waiblingers, or Ghibellines, as they were called by the Italians, assembled a diet at Coblenz, and elected Conrad of Hohenstaufen king of Germany, to the great disappointment of Henry the Proud, who, as sole heir of the late Emperor, had expected to succeed him. No sooner had Conrad ascended the throne, than he resolved to humble the power of the Guelphs. For a long time Henry debated whether he should defend himself or yield to his rival; and at length determined on surrendering the crown

jewels (which he had retained since Lothario's death), and abandoning all further claim to the throne. But here a great difficulty arose, Conrad declaring that he could not permit any duke to hold two dukedoms, and requiring Henry to resign Saxony. Henry, on hearing this, renounced his allegiance, and being placed under the ban of the empire, was deprived of both his dukedoms, Bavaria being given to the Margrave Leopold of Austria, and Saxony to Albert of Anhalt, surnamed the Bear. Meanwhile the vassals on the Guelphic estates in Bavaria as well as Swabia had espoused the cause of their lords with great zeal, and were fighting manfully against the Ghibellines, whilst Duke Guelph, the brother of Henry, shut himself up in the city of Weinsberg, in Würtemberg. After a protracted siege the garrison capitulated (A.D. 1140) on condition that all the women should be allowed to depart, taking with them as much of their property as they could carry. The terms of surrender having been signed, the gates were opened, and to the great surprise of the besiegers the duchess appeared, bearing her husband on her shoulders, and followed by all the women of the city similarly laden. The generous heart of Conrad was touched by this proof of conjugal affection; and when his courtiers would have persuaded him to send back the men, since they had obtained their liberty by a fraud, he replied indignantly, "An emperor keeps his word." The hill which this extraordinary procession crossed retains to this day the name of Weibertreue (*woman's fidelity*).

In this war the Germans first exchanged their war-cry of "Kyrie eleison" for the party watchwords of the "Guelphs," the "Ghibellines." Soon after the taking of Weinsberg, peace was restored by the death of Henry; and Conrad, anxious to conciliate his son, Henry the Lion, conferred on him the dukedom of Saxony; whilst Albert the Bear was indemnified for resigning it by receiving as an independent sovereignty that part of the kingdom which was called the Saxon marches. This was the origin of the March of Brandenburg. At the feast of Whitsuntide, in the year 1149, Conrad returned to Germany from a campaign in the Holy Land, and three years afterwards died of poison, in the midst of his preparations to oppose Guelph, who had entered into a conspiracy against him with Roger of Naples.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XV.

The Second Crusade. A.D. 1144—1149.—Jerusalem had been well-nigh forgotten during the domestic troubles of almost fifty years; but intelligence was received in the year 1144 which forced on the nations of Europe the conviction that a new crusade must be undertaken, or the Holy City be abandoned to the unbelievers. During the reigns of Baldwin I., and his son Baldwin II., the Saracens had been constrained to endure in sullen silence the presence of Christian settlers, mourning over their own degradation, as a judgment sent from God to punish their neglect of religion. But the accession of Baldwin III., a boy of thirteen, seemed a favourable opportunity for renewing the war; for the Christian army, no longer held together by the strong hand of a practised warrior, presented a miserable spectacle of disunion; Germans, Frenchmen, Italians, Englishmen, Normans, and Greeks, regarding one another with feelings of hatred only less intense than those with which they looked on the haughty Hospitallers and Templars, the powerful and ambitious princes of Edessa and Antioch; and, above all, a mongrel race called Pullans, the offspring of the early Crusaders by Arab mothers, who, as children of the soil, considered the rest as intruders.

The Turks, on the other hand, were animated by a common feeling of religious enthusiasm, fostered by itinerant saints and preachers, who travelled through the land, calling on the people everywhere to rise and sweep away the accursed enemies of God and the Prophet. Societies were formed, each distinguished by some peculiarity of belief or practice; but all uniting in hatred of the Christians. The most remarkable of these associations was that of the Assassins, who professed unlimited obedience to a leader named the Old Man of the Mountain; and at his command attacked, with the most reckless disregard for their own safety, those Christians whom he pointed out to them as objects of his especial hatred. A still more formidable enemy was Zenki, Sultan of Bagdad, who appeared before Edessa with an overwhelming force, and carried it by storm in the year 1142. The intelligence of this disaster, and of the danger with which Jerusalem itself was threatened, soon reached Europe; and spread universal dismay. The Pope, Eugenius III., sent out Bernard of Clairvaux (a Burgundian monk of extraordinary piety, whose

holy intervention had brought about a reconciliation between the Guelphs and Ghibellines) to preach a second crusade. The King of France, Lewis VII., whose conscience was sorely burdened by remorse for having permitted a cruel massacre in Champagne, eagerly embraced this opportunity of expiating his guilt, and promised to march a large army into the Holy Land ; but Conrad of Germany, who supposed that he had already done enough for the welfare of his soul in making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, was inclined to turn a deaf ear to the exhortations of Bernard, and declared that he could do nothing without the advice of his nobles. For this purpose a diet was held at Spire, at which Bernard appeared, and addressed Conrad from the altar in a strain of impassioned eloquence ; imploring him, as he would answer it before the judgment-seat of Christ at the last day, to show his gratitude for the blessings which God had showered down upon him, by succouring his persecuted brethren. The king was so touched by this address that he cried out—"I acknowledge the mercy and goodness of God, and he shall not find me ungrateful," and immediately prepared for the expedition, which was to take place in the spring of 1147. The example of the king was followed by his nephew Frederick, his former enemy Guelph, and many others. Conrad's army is said to have been at least 60,000 strong, besides an almost countless multitude of pilgrims, who availed themselves of his protection to visit the Holy Sepulchre. Their march through Hungary was performed with little loss ; but shortly afterwards many thousands of them were swept away by a terrible visitation. They had halted in one of those lovely valleys with which the shores of the Hellespont abound, and were preparing to celebrate the feast of the Blessed Virgin's Nativity, when suddenly the sky became overcast, a torrent of rain descended, the rivers overflowed their banks, and in a few minutes the ground on which they were encamped had become a lake ; horses, tents, provisions, and the greater part of their treasure, with many thousands of the pilgrims, being overwhelmed by the deluge ; which the Greeks, who had suffered severely by the irregularities of these strangers, believed to have been sent as a punishment for their sins. The army, having at length recovered from the confusion into which this accident had thrown them, crossed the Hellespont : but here fresh difficulties occurred ; for the faithless guides led them astray through a wild and desolate country, where neither bread nor water could be pro-

cured. Hundreds in consequence died of hunger, thirst, and exposure to the burning heat of the sun. Whenever they approached a town the inhabitants closed their gates, and lowering baskets from the walls, required the crusaders to deposit money in them : the baskets were then drawn up, and a second time lowered with such provisions as they thought fit to supply, generally of the coarsest kind, and often mixed with lime, the eating of which caused fatal diseases among the pilgrims. In the midst of this distress they one morning discovered that the guides had abandoned them altogether, not far from Iconium ; and a few hours afterwards had the additional mortification of finding themselves surrounded by the Turks ; whilst an eclipse of the sun added to the horrors of the scene.

With their accustomed bravery the crusaders cut their way through a force greatly superior to their own ; but so fierce was the engagement that scarcely more than 7000 of them were left alive. Conrad had now no course left but to retreat as rapidly as possible with the miserable wreck of his army. At Nicea he met the French advancing : the Greeks having reported to them that their allies had obtained splendid victories in Asia Minor, they were hastening forward to secure their share of glory. The King of Germany was received with many expressions of sympathy and kindness by Lewis of France ; but many of the French warriors made the misfortunes of his troops the subject of insulting mockery ; an insolence for which they dearly atoned when, within a few days, they themselves were also compelled to return, having lost the whole of their advanced guard by an attack of the Turks.

Conrad, sick, and almost broken-hearted, retired to Constantinople, where he held a council of war, at which it was decided that no further attempt should be made to enter Palestine by land, but that both the French and German armies should immediately embark for the Syrian coast. Accordingly the two sovereigns took ship, and landed not far from Antioch ; but even of the miserable remnant of their armies only a few followed them, and these entered the Holy Land rather in the guise of pilgrims than of warriors. Still the two kings were determined to make another effort for the recovery of their honour : and arming the pilgrims, who had come together from the different countries of Europe, they assaulted the strong fortress of Damascus. The Germans performed prodigies of valour ; and Conrad himself is said to have cut off the head and right arm of a Turk at a

single blow : but disunion and want of discipline in the army, added to the treachery of the Greeks and Templars, compelled them to raise the siege. It was during this crusade that the double eagle was first adopted as the arms of the empire. The two great Christian sovereigns of Greece and Germany having formed an alliance to defend the Christian religion against the infidels, their union was typified by this figure, which became thenceforth the arms of both. It is now borne by Austria and Russia as the representatives of the German and Grecian emperors.

CHAPTER XVI.

FREDERICK I., SURNAMED BARBA-ROSSA.

From A.D. 1152 to 1190.



Tomb of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa.

CONRAD the Third had recommended to the electors his nephew Frederick, surnamed by the Italians Barba-rossa or red-beard,

rather than his own son, whose tender age rendered him unfit to hold the reins of government in those stirring times. Frederick, who had already acquired a high military reputation in the crusades, was the son of Conrad's brother Frederick, Duke of Swabia, by Judith, daughter of Henry the Black, Duke of Bavaria. Thus he was a Ghibelline by the side of his father, and a Guelph by that of his mother, and it was hoped that his election would put an end to the long and bloody wars which had subsisted between the two factions. Accordingly on the 5th of March, 1152, he was unanimously elected at Frankfort, and five days later crowned with the usual magnificence at Aix-la-Chapelle. Frederick I. was thirty years of age when he ascended the throne. In person he was above the middle size, and a model of that manly German beauty which distinguished his race. His short fair hair curled over a broad and noble forehead; his complexion was clear, his blue eyes full of intelligence and courage, and his lips so delicately chiselled as to give a cheerful expression to a countenance of which the other features were somewhat grave and severe. The reddish tinge of his beard procured him the name by which he is generally distinguished in history. In the last disastrous expedition to the Holy Land he had acquired an iron hardihood of frame which rendered him capable of sustaining the extremes of heat and cold, hunger, thirst, and privation of every kind. Here too, whilst exposed to the constant attacks of the Turks, he had learnt to act in every emergency with decision, and to rely more on his own judgment than on the opinion of others. Knowing that his commands were the result, not of caprice, but of mature deliberation, he exacted obedience to them with a strictness which in a less righteous monarch would have been tyranny. Frederick was sincerely religious, but a determined enemy to the arrogant claims of universal dominion over the souls of men which the popes had been advancing for many years. With the quick penetration which belonged to his character, he soon perceived that any attempt to restrain the power of the Roman Pontiff would be fruitless, unless he could dictate terms to him in his own capital: he therefore resolved on undertaking an expedition into Italy, as soon as the affairs of his own country were sufficiently settled to permit his absence. The most formidable enemy of his house was Henry, surnamed the Lion, Duke of Saxony; whom he conciliated by promising him the dukedom of

Bavaria; and having thus restored tranquillity, he proceeded to take decisive measures against the pope, by sending his legates back to Italy, and raising a formidable army with which he intended shortly to follow them. A camp was formed near Constance, to which the three Swiss *Cents*, as they were then called, of Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden came and offered to accompany the expedition. At the same time deputies from the Lombard city of Lodi threw themselves at Frederick's feet, and implored his assistance against the Milanese, by whom they were cruelly oppressed. In consequence of these representations Frederick wrote to the Milanese, requiring them to make instant reparation, but his letters were torn in pieces and thrown into the faces of his messengers. The following year he crossed the Alps with a formidable army, and encamped on the plain of Roncaglia, near Piacenza, where he exhibited the royal shield on a high pole, and required all the vassals of the empire to appear and do homage on pain of forfeiting their fiefs. Even the Milanese feared to disobey this summons, and offered him 4000 marks of silver on condition of his confirming them in the lordship of Lodi and Cremona. Although Frederick rejected this proposal, he did not venture to attack a city so strongly fortified as Milan, but contented himself with laying siege to the allied town of Tortona, which yielded after an obstinate resistance. The effect of this conquest was what he had anticipated. Most of the other Lombard cities sent ambassadors, who did homage for their fiefs; and Frederick having assumed the iron crown of Lombardy in the city of Pavia, marched at once upon Rome, where he intended to be crowned by the Pope. At that time the Romans were divided into two parties, the popish, and the republican or heretical under Arnold of Brescia. The Pope, terrified by the violence of his enemies, now applied to Frederick for assistance. Arnold of Brescia also sent ambassadors to implore his aid; and it would have been an act of sound worldly policy if, instead of rejecting his overtures, the king had employed this radical reformer as his coadjutor in the great work of humbling the papal pretensions. But Frederick was a true son of the church, although opposed to the arrogant claims of its head; and when Arnold's messengers appeared before him, and spoke of the ancient Roman virtue, he interrupted them with the insulting remark, "It is not among you, effeminate liars as ye are, that ancient Rome and her virtues are to be found; but among us, who are

full of vigour and truth." The whole plot indeed appeared to him more like a wretched attempt to establish a temporal republic than the commencement of a great reform in the church: without hesitation, therefore, he abandoned Arnold to the fury of his enemies; and on the morrow as he entered Rome, the rising sun showed him the pale features of the republican leader, whom the papal guards were leading forth to execution. The citizens, disheartened and terror-stricken, admitted Frederick without resistance, and the Pope, Hadrian IV., who had fled during the insurrection of Arnold, now returned, and solemnly placed the imperial crown on the king's head in the church of St. Peter. Previously to this ceremony Frederick, according to ancient custom, held the stirrup for the Pope to dismount from his mule: but he soon showed that he was by no means inclined to submit to spiritual tyranny; for one of his first acts was to destroy the picture which represented the Emperor Lothario receiving the imperial crown as a fief from the Pope. "God," said he, "has raised the church by means of the empire, but the church desires to overthrow the empire. You begin with painting and follow it up by writing, in the expectation of treading us under your feet. Destroy your pictures, and take back your letters, if you desire that there should be peace between us." Meanwhile the citizens, furious at the loss of their leader, rose in great numbers, and Frederick, whose horse happened to fall as he charged the insurgents, would have lost his life but for the bravery of Henry the Lion, who dragged him out from the midst of his enemies. A terrible slaughter ensued, and Rome was taken, only to be abandoned almost immediately by the victor, whose men had begun to fall victims to the unhealthiness of the climate. After an attempt to chastise the Normans in the south, which failed from the same cause, Frederick retreated to the Alps, and cutting his way through an Italian force which blockaded the passes, he at length reached Germany in safety, but with little acquisition either of advantage or reputation. The feuds between the German nobles were crushed in the following year by the strong hand of the emperor, who condemned one of the most turbulent among them, the Palatine Herman, to carry a dog a mile on his shoulders; an affront which weighed so heavily on his haughty spirit, that he soon afterwards retired into a convent, where he died within a year. The emperor then directed his attention to an evil which had spread to a frightful

extent during the times of the last crusade. Many of the nobles, confiding in the strength of their castles, had long been in the habit of carrying off peaceful travellers, especially priests and merchants, and exacting large sums of money for their ransom. Most of these robbers' nests were now levelled to the ground; at the same time many of the peasants, who had long groaned under the oppression of their feudal lords, were encouraged to seek the protection of the cities. Nor was Frederick the only prince who sought to improve the condition of his peasants; for it is related of Lewis II. of Thuringia, that having once lost his way during the chase, he obtained shelter for the night at the cottage of a blacksmith; who, ignorant of his visitor's quality, began the next morning to hammer a horse-shoe, apostrophizing his work at every stroke with the words "Harder, Lewy! harder, my boy!" Being questioned as to the meaning of this strange expression, he informed his guest that he meant to say, the Landgrave should smite the nobles as hard as he struck the iron on his anvil. Lewis took the hint, and delivered the peasants from their oppressors. He overthrew the nobles in a battle near Naumburg, and harnessed by turns four of these petty tyrants to a plough, with which he ploughed a large field, called from that circumstance "the nobles' acre." In consequence of these proceedings Lewis obtained the name of the Iron Margrave. Germany was now tranquil and more powerful than she had ever been, for the emperor had increased his dominions by a marriage with the daughter of the Duke of Burgundy, and compelled the King of Poland to appear before him in the guise of a suppliant, barefooted, with a naked sword hung about his neck, and to do homage for his kingdom. The King of Denmark had also consented to hold his crown as a fief of the empire. So great was the estimation in which Frederick was at this time held by foreign monarchs, that Henry II. of England addressed a letter to him, in which he expressed an anxious wish for friendship between the Germans and English, acknowledging the superiority of Frederick, and professing his willingness to do him homage. In Italy alone the power of the emperor was resisted. In the year 1158 Frederick crossed the Alps at the head of a numerous force and laid siege to Milan, which at length, worn out by hunger, surrendered on the 6th of September. The chief nobles of the city with naked swords suspended round their necks, and the citizens with halters, marched in melancholy procession to the

camp of the conqueror, and throwing themselves at his feet prayed for mercy. The conditions granted were less rigorous than might have been expected. The Milanese were required to swear fidelity to the emperor, build him a palace in the city, pay down a sum of 9000 silver marks, and permit him in future to nominate their magistrates. As soon as these conditions were settled, the emperor raised the members of the deputation, and embraced them with great kindness and cordiality.

Soon afterwards Frederick granted a constitution to the cities of Upper Italy, reserving to himself the right of nominating their magistrates, subject to the approbation of the citizens. To the terms of this constitution all male persons between the ages of eighteen and seventy were required to swear obedience, and to renew their oath every five years. Whilst peace was thus obtained in Upper Italy, Pope Hadrian IV.* was intriguing with the German bishops, in the hope of inducing them to resist what he called the encroachments of the emperor, to whom he applied the epithets of a rapacious dragon, which would fly through the heavens, and tear a third part of the stars from their spheres; and a ravening wolf, which spoiled the vineyard of the Lord. The bishops, however, continued faithful to their sovereign, but the endeavours of Hadrian to raise disturbances in Upper Italy were more successful. Milan, already in a state of insurrection on account of some unpopular taxes, declared itself a fief of the Pope, promising to make neither peace nor war without his consent. At this crisis Hadrian died, and a double election being made by the college of cardinals, Frederick confirmed the nomination of the Ghibelline Pope Victor IV., upon which his rival issued a bull excommunicating all who had taken any part in the elevation of Victor to the papal see. Disregarding these threats, the emperor directed all his attention to the reduction of Milan, and swore never again to place the crown on his head until he had humbled her pride in the dust. For two years the war continued in Upper Italy. At length the Milanese, worn out by famine and distracted by factions, surrendered at discretion on the 6th of March, 1162. The whole starving population, clad in sackcloth, with ropes about their necks, and tapers in their hands, issued out of the gates and proceeded to the camp of Frederick, where they were compelled to wait in the rain until

* Pope Hadrian was an Englishman named Nicolas Breakspear, the only native of that country ever promoted to the papal dignity.

he had risen from table ; and then were required to surrender all their insignia of honour into the hands of the emperor's attendants.

The skulls of the Magi, or Wise Men of the East, which had been deposited at Milan during the first crusade, were transferred by Reinold, Archbishop of Cologne, to his own cathedral, where they are still venerated under the names of Caspar, Melchior, and Balthasar, the Three Kings of Cologne.

During this siege, if we may believe popular tradition, the Empress Beatrice, who had been taken prisoner in one of the sallies of the besieged, was exhibited in the streets of Milan riding backwards on a donkey ; an insult which Frederick avenged by compelling each of the magistrates to remove with his teeth a fig stuck underneath the tail of the same animal. Hence the indignation always manifested by a Milanese at any allusion to " the fig."

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XVI.

Treachery of the Milanese.—We learn from contemporary historians, that several attempts were made to assassinate the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa when he lay with his army before Milan. On one occasion, whilst Frederick was engaged in prayer in a lonely spot on the banks of the Adige, a Milanese of gigantic strength, who had been watching him for some time, crept stealthily behind, and endeavoured to throw him into the stream. But the emperor was also young and vigorous, and grappled so manfully with the assassin that the imperial attendants, alarmed by the cries of their master, had time to come up, and put the Milanese to death. Soon afterwards, an ill-favoured elderly man appeared in the camp, offering for sale various wares, which, as it was subsequently discovered, were so imbued with a subtle poison as to cause instant death to those who touched them. But the emperor had been warned of his danger by an anonymous communication, and no sooner was the pedlar's arrival announced than he commanded him to be arrested and led off to execution.

CHAPTER XVII.

FREDERICK I.—THE THIRD CRUSADE.

IN the year 1167, Frederick, who had been excommunicated by Pope Alexander, the successor of Victor IV., entered Italy for the third time, and proceeding by rapid marches to Rome, compelled the inhabitants to receive a pope of his own nomination. But soon after his arrival a frightful pestilence, brought on by the heat of the weather, thinned the ranks of the German army. So sudden were its effects, that men apparently in full health were seized with giddiness as they mounted their horses, and died in a few hours. Among the victims was the Viceroy Reinold, Archbishop of Cologne, whose tyranny had rendered him odious to the Italians. Frederick now saw that the only chance of preserving the remnant of his forces was to withdraw them from Italy : a work which he accomplished with considerable difficulty and danger, the passes of the Alps being everywhere beset by the insurgent Lombards. At Susa an alarm was given in the dead of night that his quarters were invaded by armed strangers, and he had barely time to escape, when the assassins entered his bed-chamber and found the bed occupied, not by the emperor, but by a knight named Herman of Siebeneichen, whose devotion led him to expose his life in the hope of saving his master.

Maddened by disappointment, the conspirators were at first inclined to sacrifice Herman ; but admiration of his courage and fidelity at length prevailed, and they allowed him to depart unhurt. Frederick at last reached Germany ; and it was not until the year 1174 that he invaded Italy for the fourth time. At Chiavenna, Henry the Lion, who had lately returned from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, declared his intention of abandoning the expedition : an offence which he subsequently expiated by the forfeiture of all his possessions except Brunswick and Luneburg, and by banishment from the empire for three years.

In the year 1184, the affairs of Italy being happily settled by a treaty of peace with the Lombards, Frederick celebrated the feast of Whitsuntide at Mentz with more than ordinary magnificence. Forty thousand knights, the fairest women, the most renowned minstrels united to give to the august ceremonial a

gorgeous splendour which has survived in the popular songs of that day. But it was remarked at the time as an evil omen, that in the midst of the revelry, a violent storm of wind suddenly arose and overthrew the tents which had been erected for the accommodation of spectators. The next year the emperor married his eldest son to Constance, heiress presumptive of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, hoping thus to establish in the South, as in the North, an influence which should overawe the Pope and the Lombards. "Italy," he said, "was like an eel, which a man had need to grasp firmly by the tail, the head, and the middle, and which might nevertheless give him the slip." The Pope saw the danger, and in a transport of alarm and rage excommunicated those bishops who had assisted at the marriage ceremony. A breach between the spiritual and temporal powers now seemed inevitable, when suddenly the news arrived that Jerusalem was in the hands of the unbelievers. Since the ill-omened crusades of Conrad III. and Lewis VII. of France which ended in the year 1149, but little assistance had been sent from the West; and the native Christians, rendered effeminate by the enervating climate, were unequal to the efficient defence of those possessions which their hardy ancestors had wrested from the infidels. As the power of the Christians declined, that of the Turks increased, and was at its greatest height under Saladin, Sultan of Egypt and Damascus: a zealous Mussulman, but enlightened beyond the wont of his countrymen, brave to the verge of rashness in the field of battle, yet exercising in peace a knightly courtesy scarcely inferior to that of the more polished chivalry of Europe. For a long period a sort of insecure peace had subsisted between this formidable chief and Guy de Lusignan, King of Jerusalem, interrupted by frequent misunderstandings and sometimes by skirmishes. At length the storm burst.

A Knight of Jerusalem, named Reginald de Chatillon, having seized the person of the Sultan's mother, who was travelling from Egypt to Damascus, Saladin demanded his immediate punishment, a satisfaction which the king wanted either the will or the power to grant. Finding that no redress could be obtained, Saladin at once marched upon Jerusalem, meeting on his way the Christian army, which he totally routed near Tiberias. In this battle eleven hundred men were slain, and the King of Jerusalem, with Reginald de Chatillon, the unhappy cause of the war, fell into the hands of Saladin, who instantly

put Reginald to death with his own hand. After this decisive victory, the infidels made themselves masters with little difficulty of all the cities occupied by Christian garrisons; and on the 3rd October, 1187, eighty-eight years after its first conquest, the Sultan of Damascus entered Jerusalem amidst the shouts of his followers, and the music of trumpets and kettle-drums. The cross which the Christians had erected on the Temple Church was torn from its place and sent to the Caliph of Bagdad, who buried it in the ground before one of the city gates in such a manner that the small portion which appeared above the surface was daily and hourly trodden under foot. As soon as the intelligence of this disaster reached the West, Gregory VIII. issued a bull, calling on all the faithful servants of Christ to assist in reconquering the Holy City, and imploring them, where heaven was to be won, to forget all inferior objects. The appeal was abundantly successful. Immense armies were levied by the kings of France and England, and even Frederick, although seventy years of age, prepared for the expedition with all the ardour of youth, and received the cross from the hands of the Cardinal d'Albano. Having despatched a letter of defiance to Saladin, the Emperor commenced his march, and after an adventurous progress through Hungary arrived at Constantinople; where the terrified Emperor Isaac granted him the use of a fleet for the transport of his army to the shores of Palestine. Frederick, who had already had experience of the Turkish mode of warfare, determined as soon as he landed on the coast to oppose craft to craft. He therefore marched with a crowd of camp followers to the place where the enemy were lying in ambush, and then, pretending to be suddenly aware of his danger, fled towards the camp, followed by the Turks, who were warmly received by the regular troops and defeated with great slaughter. But famine and pestilence soon thinned his ranks, and the Turks seeing his distress, proposed that he should pay them a sum of money for the ransom of the Christian host. The only reply vouchsafed by Frederick to this insulting message was to send them a small piece of silver, with a request that they would divide that among themselves. As they advanced towards Armenia the heat became insupportable. It was necessary to cross an inconsiderable stream called the Calycadnus: the bridge was narrow, and the passage of the troops necessarily slow and tedious. Frederick, weary of waiting, and anxious to join his son, leaped his horse

into the stream, intending to swim to the opposite bank ; but the current swept him away, and his lifeless body was dragged out of the river a considerable distance below the place at which he had entered it. The consternation of the troops at beholding the corpse of their chief cannot be described. In him they had lost not only an emperor and a leader, but one whom they loved with the affection of children. All hope seemed to have abandoned them, and by far the greater portion of the army returned to Germany. Only about 7000 infantry and 700 cavalry remained with Duke Frederick of Swabia, the late emperor's son, who, after fighting bravely with his handful of followers, died of the plague in the twentieth year of his age. The mortal remains of the emperor were buried at Antioch : but even to the present hour the legend is repeated and believed by the ignorant, that he of the red-beard sleeps in the cleft of a rock in Thuringia, his head resting on his hand, and his beard grown through the stone table on which he leans. At some future day, when the ravens cease to hover over the mountain, he will awake from his long sleep, and bring back golden times to Germany.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XVII.

Influence of the Crusades on Germany.—One of the effects of the Crusades was to increase the power of the Church in Germany, and thus to second the deep-laid plans of Gregory VII. The fanatical enthusiasm which they excited was naturally calculated to bend the hearts of men to the spiritual power. But their effects were also of a more material nature. The bishops and abbots remained at home, whilst the princes and nobles were following in the train of the pious crusaders to the distant East. Many who took the cross either presented or sold their estates to the Church, in order to prepare themselves for the expedition ; many returned no more, and their widows and daughters retired into convents, whilst their houses and lands fell into the hands of the clergy.

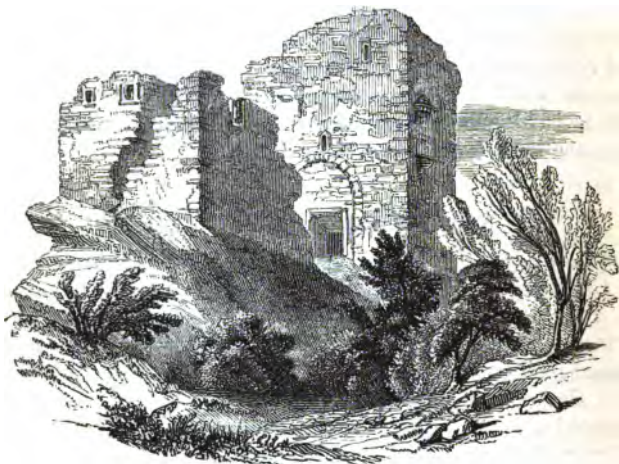
In many respects, however, the influence of the Crusades was highly beneficial. Among the nobles, engaged in the pursuit of a vast and sacred object, a high chivalrous spirit was developed, which had great effect in raising the tone and manners of society. Their influence on the burgher class was not less marked. They opened a new route to commerce. All the commodities of the East poured into Europe ; new fruits, new flowers, new species of

animals, new kinds of furniture, new stuffs, new modes of dress, were introduced into the West, and gave a stimulus to trade. Bremen in the north of Germany, and Ulm in the south, became the staples of these new objects of traffic. The towns increased in size and importance, and the citizens were better enabled to maintain their privileges against the spiritual and temporal nobility.

CHAPTER XVIII.

HENRY VI.

From A.D. 1190 to 1197.



Ruins of Triefels, the prison of Richard Cœur de Lion.

SCARCELY had the Emperor's eldest son Henry entered on the regency which his father had committed to him previously to his own departure for the Holy Land, when Henry the Lion returned from his exile in England, and landed on the coast of Holstein, although he had sworn to absent himself from Germany for three years. The excuse for this act of perjury was, that his possessions had been plundered during his absence, and since he could not obtain justice either from the emperor or the regent, it was necessary that he should come in person to procure it for himself. The town of Hamburg and several other places readily opened

their gates to receive him. Bardewick, a commercial city of some importance which had formerly insulted Henry, was taken and levelled with the earth, all the male inhabitants put to death, and the women and children carried off. It was now necessary that the regent should adopt decisive measures; he therefore marched a strong force into the territories of the duke, and carried Hanover by storm. The city of Brunswick, however, resisted all his attacks, and whilst his army lay before it, intelligence arrived from Italy that a powerful body of Neapolitan bishops and nobles had placed on the throne of that kingdom an illegitimate descendant of Roger, the father of Henry's wife Constance. On receiving this information, Henry at once crossed the Alps, and having persuaded the Pope to crown him at Rome, marched into Apulia, and appeared before the walls of Naples. But here he was met by the same enemies which had formerly overcome his father—heat and pestilence. The most frightful diseases broke out in the German army, and Henry, after losing thousands of his soldiers, was at last compelled to raise the siege and return to Germany, leaving his empress a prisoner in the hands of the enemy. Meanwhile the young Duke of Brunswick, son of Henry the Lion, was enabled by a fortunate marriage to heal the feud between his house and that of Hohenstaufen. There lived at that time a brother of the late emperor, named the Count Palatine Conrad. In better days, Agnes, the beautiful daughter of this prince, had been destined by Barbarossa for the young duke; but when the feud between their houses began, he betrothed her to Philip Augustus, king of France. The affections of the lady however were not so easily transferred, and she declared to her mother her fixed determination to marry none but her first lover. As Henry, disappointed and sorrowful, was returning home from an unsatisfactory interview with the emperor, a messenger put into his hands a letter, in which he was invited by the countess to come that very night to the fortress of Stahleck, near Bacharach, on the Rhine, and receive the hand of her daughter. The delighted lover at once accepted this invitation, and disguising himself as a pilgrim was admitted into the castle, where the marriage ceremony was immediately performed. The next morning Count Conrad, who had been absent, returned to his castle, and was met at the gate by his countess, who thus addressed him, "My lord, there came yesterday to our tower a falcon, a fairer you never beheld, and I have taken and kept him." The Count,

unable to comprehend the riddle, but fearing some disaster, rushed hastily into the house, where he was met by the newly married pair: "Behold, my lord," said his wife, "the son of the Prince of Brunswick, to whom I have given our daughter, and pray that what I have done may be approved by you." Conrad, although greatly astonished, was easily reconciled to what had happened, and thought only of appeasing the wrath of the emperor, who at first refused to sanction the marriage, but having at length given his consent, peace was restored between the imperial house and that of Brunswick. Soon after this union, Henry the Lion, who had passed the last few years of his life in retirement, died in the sixty-first year of his age. With him perished the old dukedom of Saxony, which the chroniclers of those days compare to a noble courser (the ancient arms of the duchy) torn in pieces by a ravening pack of wild beasts. "The lion," says one quaint old writer, "kept the heart for his share; the lynx (Bavaria) had a leg; the dog (Hesse) a shoe; the sow (Holstein) the lungs; Cologne and Bremen each a hind leg; Mentz the tail," &c. About the same time Tancred, the usurping king of Naples, died also; and the Emperor, at the head of a formidable army, entered Palermo in triumph on the 2nd of November, 1194, and was crowned king of Sicily and Apulia. Thus was the grandson of an insignificant Swabian count the wearer of five crowns, viz., those of Germany, Burgundy, Lombardy, the Roman Empire, and Sicily.

At first Henry affected to rule his new kingdom with moderation, nor was it until the following Christmas that he gave proof of his suspicious and cruel disposition. A monk had put into his hands letters, purporting to be from some of the principal nobles and ecclesiastical dignitaries, in which a conspiracy against his person and crown was alluded to in no very ambiguous terms. A commission of inquiry was immediately appointed, which, after examining the letters, broke up, without pronouncing any decided opinion; some of the members believing the letters to be forgeries, whilst others held that they were genuine. The tyrant, however, was unwilling to be thus baffled; and many of the suspected individuals were put to death by the most cruel tortures. Having thus thrown off the mask, Henry gave loose without restraint to his ferocious disposition. The young son of the deceased usurper Tancred (who had placed himself and his mother under Henry's protection) was cruelly mutilated, and deprived of his eyes: a

man whom he suspected of a design on the crown was compelled to sit on a throne of iron heated red hot, with a crown of the same glowing material nailed on his head: some were dragged through the streets at the tails of horses, others scourged to death; in a word, there was hardly a form of torture which this monster of cruelty did not inflict on his unfortunate Sicilian subjects. Having by these means secured, as he supposed, his kingdom against any further attempts, he determined to retire into Germany, for the purpose of putting into execution a plan which he had long secretly cherished, of making the imperial dignity hereditary in his family. In the year 1195 this project was laid before the electors, some of whom were convinced by the arguments of the emperor, seconded as they were by a liberal distribution of bribes; but the majority, headed by the Archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, opposed the plan so vehemently, that Henry was compelled to abandon it, and content himself with seeing his son Frederick elected as his successor. The following year he prepared to lead a great army into the East; not with the pious object of rescuing the Holy Sepulchre, but from motives of personal ambition. The Greek emperor having been deposed and imprisoned by his brother, had applied to Henry for assistance, promising (if it were granted) to bequeath his crown to Henry's brother Philip, who had married his daughter. The army destined for this object was divided into two parts, one of which was held in readiness to proceed by the usual route, whilst the other, 60,000 strong, marched into Apulia under the command of the emperor himself. In the midst of these preparations death surprised him. He had been hunting near Messina, on one of the hottest days of summer, and thirsty and exhausted drank immoderately of cold water, or as some writers assert, of wine with which poison had been mingled by his enemies. Scarcely had he swallowed the draught, when he sank to the ground in a fit of apoplexy, and died within a few hours in the flower of his age. The death of their cruel tyrant was celebrated with universal rejoicing by the inhabitants of Sicily and Apulia. Six hundred years afterwards his coffin was opened at Palermo, when the corpse of the emperor was found to be so little decayed, that the stern hard features of his face were as distinctly marked as they had been in life.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XVIII.

Richard Cœur de Lion—the Teutonic Order.—The banner of Leopold, Duke of Austria, the only German prince who remained in Palestine after the death of Barbarossa, waved proudly on the highest tower of Acre, which had surrendered to the united forces of the Germans and English. But this assumption of superiority over his allies was an indignity which the haughty spirit of Richard Cœur de Lion could by no means tolerate; and in a transport of indignation he caused the banner to be torn from its staff, and trampled it under foot with many expressions of contempt for the “Austrian swine.”

For the present Leopold was too weak to avenge this insult, but it rankled in his heart, and the following winter as Richard travelled through Austria, he was seized and confined fourteen months in the tower of Dürnstein, on the Danube, or more probably in the Castle of Triefels, on the Rhine. The tale of his discovery by his minstrel Blondel is too well known to be repeated here. Richard was brought before the Diet at Worms, and being accused of having wronged the Germans in the distribution of booty taken in the Holy Land, was compelled to pay a ransom of 150,000 marks, and swear fealty to the Emperor, before he could recover his liberty. The mean wretch who had taken this unknighly revenge died shortly afterwards in consequence of a fall from his horse. In this reign Styria was added to Austria, and Vienna surrounded by a wall, the expense of fortifying the city being paid out of the King of England's ransom. During the siege of Acre a new order of chivalry was added to the two which already existed. Some merchants from Lübeck, who had established at Acre a hospital for the relief of the sick and wounded, being joined by a few knights, formed themselves into a brotherhood, called the Marians, from their patroness the Virgin Mary, or more commonly the Teutonic order, because all its members were natives of Germany. The first president or Grand Master of this society was a merchant named Walpot, of whom an ancient chronicler says, that “howbeit of ignoble birth, he was nevertheless right noble in life and character.”

After the crusades the Knights of St. John established themselves in Rhodes, and were called knights of that island. Being driven from their settlement by the Turks in 1522 they obtained

the island of Malta from Charles V., and employed themselves in the extirpation of piracy until the French invasion in 1798.

Most of the Templars retired to France, where they continued until 1313, when, a great number of them having been cruelly murdered by Philip le Bel, and the rest excommunicated by the Pope, the order soon ceased to exist. The Teutonic Knights went into Prussia, which they conquered and ruled until the year 1525, when their Grand Master, Albert of Brandenburg, suppressed the order, and assumed the title and dignity of a temporal prince. The costume of the Knights Hospitallers or Knights of St. John was a black mantle with a white cross embroidered on the shoulder. The Templars and Teutonic knights wore white mantles, the former with a red, the latter with a black cross.

CHAPTER XIX.

PHILIP OF HOHENSTAUFEN.—OTHO IV.

From A.D. 1198 to 1212.

DETESTABLE as the character of Henry VI. had been, the whole of Christendom was nevertheless struck with consternation at the intelligence that the crown of the mighty Roman Empire had now descended to a child of three years old, and feared, not without reason, a recurrence of those scenes which had been enacted under the weak administration of Henry IV. and his mother Agnes. In the month of March, in the year 1198, the Guelphic party, headed by the Archbishops of Cologne and Trèves, declared that a new election must take place, inasmuch as their votes for the infant Frederick had been procured by intimidation, and were moreover invalid on the ground of their having been taken whilst Frederick, being yet unbaptized, could be considered only in the light of a heathen. "The government of Germany," they added, "ought to be intrusted to a wise and vigorous monarch, and not to a helpless infant." During these debates Philip, the young king's uncle, called together the friends of the Hohenstaufen, and implored them to support him in the exercise of his functions as guardian of his nephew and regent of the kingdom. Philip's friends would readily have acceded to

this request, had they believed that by doing so they could have confirmed the Hohenstaufen line on the throne; but as they plainly saw, that in the event of such an arrangement the Guelphic party would instantly proceed to the election of another king, they determined to anticipate their adversaries by deposing the young Frederick, and placing the crown on the head of his uncle. Philip, although grieved at this decision, was constrained to acknowledge its reasonableness, and consent to the election, which took place at Mühlhausen, all the assembled nobles swearing fealty to the new king. On the other hand the Guelphic party offered the crown to Otho of Brunswick, third son of Henry the Lion, who was elected by them at Cologne, and in the following July crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, although that city had for seven weeks resisted his entrance within its walls. A short time before the occurrence of these events Innocent III. had succeeded the weak and timid Celestin III. on the papal throne. Since the days of Gregory VII. it had never been filled by a pope of more energetic character or more ambitious views. His favourite saying was, that "the priesthood was derived from God himself, but that the imperial power had first been assumed by Nimrod, the mighty hunter." The divided state of the empire favoured his plans. Otho of Brunswick having thrown himself at the feet of the Pope, and sworn to acknowledge him as his liege-lord, and restore to the church all the rights and possessions of which she had been deprived by former emperors, Innocent of course declared himself favourable to the claims of a candidate who promised so fairly: and thus supported, Otho boldly entered the lists against Philip, although he knew that his rival was favoured by all the best and bravest of the German nobles. Years passed away, and the event of the struggle was yet undecided, when the death of one of the competitors brought it suddenly to a close. It was on the feast of St. John, in the year 1208, that King Philip was celebrating at Bamberg the espousals of his daughter Beatrice with Otho of Meran. In the dead of night a man with a drawn sword entered his chamber, and, advancing to the bed on which the king lay, stabbed him to the heart. The name of the murderer was Otho of Wittelsbach, who was driven to this act of unmanly revenge by indignation at being refused the hand of Philip's daughter; or, as other analysts relate, by his wrath at discovering that a letter which Philip had given him for Duke Henry of Silesia, purporting to

be a request that the Duke would grant his daughter in marriage to Otho, contained in reality a true but most severe account of the suitor's real character. The vengeance of God was not slow in overtaking the assassin. After being hunted from place to place by the emissaries of Otho of Meran (who had sworn to the Princess Beatrice to punish the murderer of her father), he was at length found concealed in a cottage near Elrach, on the Danube, and put to death. Otho of Brunswick was now recognized as sole monarch of Germany. In the hope of conciliating the Ghibelline party, he married the daughter of his late rival, and at the same time made such concessions to the Pope as he believed would procure for him the favour of that ambitious pontiff. The question of investiture was given up, the Pope's right of nominating the German bishops without the consent of their chapters was fully recognized, and the head of the church acknowledged as supreme judge of the empire. The Pope, overjoyed at these concessions, placed the imperial crown on the head of Otho ; but scarcely was the ceremony concluded when the Roman populace rose and expelled the emperor from the city, whilst Innocent looked on without making any effort to restrain their violence. Irritated by these insults, Otho declared that he no longer considered himself bound by the conditions which he had proposed to the Pope. Innocent at first was inclined to remonstrate, and warned him of the danger of disobeying the church in these words, "Forget not that it is the church which hath raised thee: think on King Nebuchadnezzar, who, when he trusted in his own might, was sent forth to eat grass like the beasts of the field." Otho, however, persisted in his disobedience, and the Pope, burning with wrath, excommunicated him, and wrote to the German princes, granting them his permission to elect Frederick of Sicily. Otho was in the act of embarking for that island, with the intention of crushing his rival, when he received intelligence (A.D. 1211) that the nobles and states of Germany had chosen Frederick to be their king.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XIX.

The Mendicant Orders.—Amidst the pride, indolence, and laxity of morals which prevailed to a fearful extent among the clergy of the thirteenth century, instances were not wanting of men, pure in spirit and single-hearted, who, thinking they could

best serve God by withdrawing from temptation, were contented to renounce the world, in the hope of being able to work out their salvation more effectually in the silence and solitude of the cloister. Such were Francesco d'Assisi, an Italian, who founded the order of Franciscans in the year 1210, and Domingo Guzman, a native of Spain, who established the Dominicans in 1215. The object of both was the same—to promote spirituality and purity of life by rigid corporeal discipline: they were therefore bound by their rules to content themselves with the barest necessities of food and clothing, and to observe the vow of poverty so literally, that it was unlawful for them even to touch money. For this reason they were generally called the mendicant monks: and the Dominicans (or white friars, as they were sometimes named from their robes of white flannel), who busied themselves in preaching repentance to the people, were further distinguished by the title of preaching-monks. There seems no reason to doubt that the founders of the Franciscan and Dominican orders were in the first instance actuated by a sincere desire of purifying the church from those corruptions which had long been the grief and the shame of her more pious members; but unfortunately for the cause of true religion, it soon happened that the Pope, by craftily granting them unreasonable immunities and privileges, succeeded in converting these reformers into the mightiest supporters of the system which they had sworn to destroy. As men of especial sanctity, and distinguished servants of God, they took precedence of the secular clergy, in whose parishes they were permitted to say mass, preach, hear confession, absolve penitents, and found schools for the instruction of the young. Thus in the character of friends and advisers they found their way into the houses of the laity, to whom they were especially recommended not merely by their reputation for sanctity, but by the trifling cost at which they were supported, and the total absence of haughtiness in their intercourse even with the lowest of the people. Seated in his easy chair at the peasant's fireside, with the little children of the family climbing round his knees, the begging monk would talk to them in homely language, of the papal power, derived by regular succession from the holy fisherman, to whom Christ gave the keys of heaven; and confirmed by a succession of miracles, some of them, perhaps, invented for the nonce by the narrator himself. Then he would tell them of the heretics, those raging monsters, half man and half

devil, who blasphemed God and his church, and whom every true Christian was bound to smite, even as Michael and his angels smote the dragon who stirred up war in heaven. By such conversations as these, the chains of slavish superstition, which the energetic attacks of the Waldenses and Albigenses had loosened, were riveted as firmly as before; and the people, whose faith had been grievously shaken by witnessing the profligate lives of their spiritual guides, were gradually confirmed in their affectionate veneration for a church which, instead of licentious and bloated priests, now sent to them the humble, friendly, self-denying mendicant friar. How miserably these men themselves degenerated into the luxury and sensuality against which they at first protested with so much vehemence, will be seen in their subsequent history. At the period of which we are writing, they formed a sort of spiritual police, under the immediate control of the Pope himself, to whom they were enabled to render good service by their influence over the affections and consciences of the people.

CHAPTER XX.

FREDERICK II.

From A.D. 1212 to 1250.



Costume of a Knight - A.D. 1218-20.

FREDERICK was in his eighteenth year when the electors placed him a second time on the throne. His fair hair betrayed his German origin, whilst his firm and masculine disposition showed him to be a Hohenstaufen; but the fiery spirit and deep feeling which he from time to time displayed indicated the Italian blood of his mother Constance. Pope Innocent III. had been his guardian since the decease of his mother, which took place the year after her husband's untimely death. No pains had been spared by the Pope to render his young charge accomplished in

all the knowledge of those days ; and educated as he was amidst the strife of contending parties, he had already learnt and suffered more than many princes in the course of a long life. His journey into Germany was not without danger, for he narrowly escaped falling into an ambuscade, which some Milanese, the enemies of his house, had laid for him. He arrived however safely at Mentz, and received in that city the homage of most of the German nobles. As Frederick owed his elevation to the Pope, he was obliged to promise all sorts of concessions to the church ; and among the rest, that he would resign his kingdom of Sicily in favour of his infant son Henry ; because the Pope could not endure that the imperial crown and that of Apulia should belong to the same individual. Otho of Brunswick at first offered some resistance to the elevation of Frederick, whom he named in derision the "priest's king," but at last found himself obliged to abandon the contest, and retire to his dukedom. A defeat which he experienced at Bovines in Flanders, where he was assisted against the French by his cousin King John of England, destroyed his little remaining influence over his countrymen ; and the finishing stroke was given when Pope Innocent, in a council of the church, at which delegates from almost all the Christian states were present, pronounced that Otho had forfeited the crown, and that Frederick, who in all respects had shown himself an obedient son of the church, was rightful King of the Germans. Otho, thus deposed, retired to his patrimonial estates in the north of Germany, refusing however to surrender the imperial insignia, which consisted of the holy cross, the holy lance, the crown, and one of the teeth of St. John the Baptist. He died in 1218, and twenty weeks after his decease the jewels, according to his direction, were placed in the hands of the reigning sovereign. No sooner had Frederick become sole monarch of Germany than he resolved to visit Rome for the purpose of receiving the imperial crown from the Pope ; and before his departure prevailed on the electors to choose his young son Henry as his successor. From Rome Frederick visited Apulia, which he had left at the age of eighteen. Here he would gladly have remained for some time ; but the Pope never ceased to remind him that, previously to his coronation, he had promised to undertake a crusade to the Holy Land ; and this appeal was rendered more persuasive by the circumstance of his having, after the death of his wife, Constance of Aragon, married Joanna, daughter of the King of Jerusalem.

Accordingly, in the year 1227, he assembled as large a force as possible, and was on the eve of embarking, when a terrible pestilence broke out, and carried off the greatest part of his army. To add to his embarrassment, Pope Honorius died at the critical moment when Frederick, unable to fulfil his engagement, was at the mercy of the papal see; and the new Pope, Gregory IX., at once published the sentence of excommunication against him. Indignant at this act of unjust severity, Frederick no longer thought it necessary to dissemble, but openly and in no measured language gave vent to his feelings: "The blood-sucker," he said, "hideth her venom in words of honied sweetness; she sendeth out her emissaries, as wolves in sheep's clothing, into all lands; not to spread the word of God, but to enslave the free, disturb the peaceful, and extort money." It is by no means improbable that he would have bidden defiance to the papal ban, and abandoned the expedition altogether, had he not two years before pledged his honour to undertake it. It was from no love to the Pope therefore that he collected the remnant of his forces, and in the following year embarked for Palestine. Humane and tolerant by nature—attached to the literature of the East, which he had studied with pleasure in his youth—as one of the race of Hohenstaufen, the bitter enemy of the Pope, and now burning with rage at the unjust sentence of excommunication lately passed upon him, it is scarcely matter of astonishment that Frederick should have courted an alliance with the equally liberal leader of the Mussulmans, Sultan Camel. Private communications had passed between them before Frederick quitted Italy; and when, on his arrival in the Holy Land, the Knights of the Temple and St. John shrank from him as from an accursed thing, he treated them with contempt, relied only on his faithful Germans, and in less than a year had so far acquired the confidence of Sultan Camel, that the gates of Jerusalem were thrown open to him, and the barbarian leader with his own hand placed the crown on the head of his Christian ally. It was agreed between the two sovereigns that access to the Holy Sepulchre should thenceforth be free both to the Mohammedans and Christians; and that, when the city was given over into the hands of Frederick, the former should be permitted to celebrate their worship without molestation. This liberality on the part of the Christian leader was so distasteful to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, that, instead of thanking God for the recovery of the holy city, he forbade his clergy to

officiate within it. Some of the Templars also were base enough to write to the Sultan, urging him to assassinate Frederick; but the noble-minded Mussulman, instead of following this suggestion, put the letter into the hands of the emperor. Having thus in some sort secured peace, at least for a time, Frederick re-embarked for Italy.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XX.

The Children's Crusade.—Since the year 1190 little had been done for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. It is true that Richard Cœur de Lion had wrung an honourable peace from the infidels; but the conditions were soon violated; and the unhappy feuds continuing to rage as violently as ever among the Christians, Saladin, and after him Camel, the Sultan of Egypt, obtained one advantage after another, until little remained in the hands of the Europeans beyond a few places on the sea-coast. They now became aware that it would be impossible to retain their footing in Palestine, unless they could make themselves masters of Egypt and Greece, the former being the granary which supplied their enemies with corn, the latter lying on the way between the regions of the West and East, and the treachery of its inhabitants rendering the passage of an army through their country at all times exceedingly hazardous. Accordingly in the year 1204 Constantinople was taken, and Baldwin, Count of Flanders, placed on the throne of the Eastern empire. During this period the Venetians were put in possession of the whole Peloponnesus or Morea, where they carried on no inconsiderable commerce. The influence which these events exercised on the progress of art in the West was naturally very great. In Flanders especially, to which many works of Grecian art, particularly pictures, were sent by the conquerors of Constantinople, the foundation was laid of that school of painting which afterwards became so renowned throughout Europe. The attempt in Egypt totally miscarried, for the warlike Arabians who defended that country were an enemy very different from the effeminate Greeks of Constantinople; and the Christian inhabitants of Palestine had long since lost the courage which distinguished the early crusaders. From this time little was attempted until the year 1212, when a scene of enthusiasm was enacted, so strange as to be well nigh incredible. In the district of Vendôme in France, there appeared a shepherd boy named Stephen, who exhibited a

letter purporting to be a commission received from Jesus Christ himself, authorizing him to go forth and conquer the infidels in Palestine. "None," he said, "but innocent children could hope for success; for Christ had declared that of such is the kingdom of heaven." Accordingly 7000 urchins were led by him to the shores of the Adriatic, where they were murdered by the pirate inhabitants of that coast. These were followed by more than 30,000 boys and young maidens, who took ship at Marseilles, and being wrecked on the coast of Africa, were either drowned or carried off into slavery. There is a tradition that in later days some of these children or their descendants, who resided as slaves at the court of Bagdad, suffered death rather than renounce the Christian faith.

CHAPTER XXI.

FREDERICK II.



A Tournament.

DURING the Emperor's absence from Italy, the Pope had enlisted a band of mercenaries, who were called "soldiers of the keys," from their wearing as a badge the cross keys of St. Peter.

The command of these men was intrusted to the titular King of Jerusalem, John, father-in-law of the Emperor, but one of his bitterest enemies. On his landing, Frederick found Apulia in the hands of John's army; but the mere terror of his name was sufficient to disperse them: and in a short time they had all disappeared, leaving him in quiet possession of his native land. But Frederick, although triumphant in this instance, understood too well the dangerous power of the Pope not to desire a reconciliation, and sent him proposals to that effect. Gregory, however, not only refused to hold any intercourse with one whom he designated as a pestilent heretic, but wrote with his own hand a letter to the German nobles, urging them to throw off their allegiance; a suggestion which was received so contemptuously that the Pope, assuming a humbler tone, expressed his willingness to remove the sentence of excommunication.

Frederick now led a life of luxurious enjoyment for many years in his beautiful kingdom of Apulia. On every side the noblest palaces and the fairest gardens bore witness to his exquisite taste. His court, if not altogether free from the guilt of sensuality, exhibited at least none of its coarseness, and was the resort of all that was fair, and accomplished, and learned. The Emperor himself was no mean proficient in the art of poetry, and was among the first who composed verses in the vernacular dialect of Italy. Sultan Camel had presented him with an astronomical clock or orrery, in which the motions of the heavenly bodies were represented by curious machinery: and his scientific studies were zealously directed by Michael Scott, the translator of Aristotle's treatise on natural history, whose reputation as a necromancer has furnished his illustrious namesake with materials for the 'Lay of the Last Minstrel.' The Emperor also collected a menagerie of wild beasts, among which was a giraffe, an animal rarely seen in those days; and wrote with his own hand a treatise on the natural history of birds, which is still extant.

During the fifteen years of his absence, Germany enjoyed almost uninterrupted tranquillity from without: and in the north-east was considerably extended by conquests achieved by two knightly orders—that of the Cross and Sword (founded in 1198 by Albert of Apeldern, Bishop of Livonia), which subdued Esthonia, and the Teutonic order, which conquered and civilized the Prussians,* a wild tribe, whose food was horseflesh, and their

* The name of Prussia is a contraction of Po-Russia, which in the Sclavonic dialect signifies "near Russia," as Pomerania (Po-morganie) "near the sea."

chief pastime drinking to intoxication. When a chief died, his slaves, his horse, and arms were buried with him, that they might be ready for use in the other world. These savage marauders having long disturbed their neighbours the Poles, the latter, unable to contend with so powerful an enemy, at length applied for aid to Herman of Salza, Grand Master of the Teutonic order, who sent a hundred knights to their assistance. In this manner Prussia was gradually subdued, and became the possession of the Teutonic knights, with whom those of the Cross and Sword were incorporated about the year 1137.

Whilst the frontiers of the kingdom were thus extended by conquest, its interior was agitated by the unceasing broils of the nobles, and their cruel oppression of those who were too weak to resist them. A terrible persecution was also carried on against all who presumed to differ in opinion from the church of Rome. Ever since the year 1170 the followers of Peter Waldus in the South of France had preached against the ambition, tyranny, and immorality of the clergy, and had endeavoured to place the Holy Scriptures in the hands of the people. These Waldenses, as they were called from the name of their founder, and the Albigenses, who derived their appellation from the town of Albi, were cruelly persecuted by ecclesiastical commissioners empowered by the Pope to take cognizance of all heresies, and punish with tortures and death those who were convicted of seeking to purify the Catholic religion from the inventions of men. In Germany a similar power was granted by Pope Gregory IX. to Conrad of Marburg, a Dominican monk, the confessor of Elizabeth of Thuringia. Many humble individuals were in consequence condemned to the stake: but the inquisitor having at last ventured to degrade a count of the empire by causing his head to be shaved, the offended noble appealed to the diet, and Conrad, who was summoned to answer his complaints, was assassinated on the road by some friends of his former victims. Since that time the popes have attempted in vain to introduce the inquisition into Germany. Such were the abuses which prevailed during the absence of the Emperor Frederick. The flatterers of his son Henry, who administered the government for his father, told him that the limited power with which he was intrusted was the cause of these evils. They reminded him that Frederick had promised the Pope never to allow the governments of Germany and Apulia to be in the hands of one person, and persuaded him that his younger brother Conrad was the favourite of his father. Yielding to these evil

counsellors, Henry, in the year 1234, formed an alliance with Frederick, the warlike Duke of Austria, and assembling the German nobles at Boppard on the Rhine, proposed that they should throw off their allegiance to the Emperor. Finding, however, that only a few were inclined to listen to him, he next turned his eyes towards Italy, where he hoped to find willing coadjutors in the Pope and the Lombards. The Milanese, it is true, were ready to assist him, but the Pope rejected his unnatural proposal with abhorrence; declared all oaths of allegiance taken to him to be null and void, and commanded all his adherents to abandon him on pain of excommunication. Frederick wrote to the German nobles, condemning the conduct of his son; and soon afterwards appeared in Germany with a considerable army. Henry made his submissions to his father at Ratisbon in 1235, and received a pardon; but having afterwards attempted to poison him, was sent into Calabria, where he ended his days in prison in the year 1242. When the Emperor heard of his death, he wrote to all the nobles of the empire to this effect: "I confess that the pride of the living king could never bend me, but I am deeply touched by the death of my son: nor am I the first who, having suffered from an un dutiful child, hath nevertheless wept over his grave."

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XXI.

The Vehme, or Secret Tribunals of Westphalia.—During the residence of Frederick II. in Italy, the government of Germany was committed (as we have seen) to his son Henry, who had been brought up from infancy in that country. It would have been too much to expect that the feeble arm of a boy could control those turbulent nobles who were every day guilty of some fresh act of atrocity; nor was it safe openly to resist their violence. Archbishop Engelbert therefore, whom Frederick had nominated his lieutenant in Germany in the year 1220, revived, in that part of the Duchy of Westphalia which belonged to the see of Cologne, a dark and mysterious tribunal known by the name of the Vehme, or Fehm-gericht, which was formed on the model of the Frey-gericht, or open field court of Germany.

The schöppen, or scabini, who composed this court, were divided into the "ordinary" and the "wissenden," or initiated, who were intrusted with the trial of criminals at the secret meetings of the Vehme: the ordinary members being empowered to

decide civil causes at a public court held three times a-year. It would appear also that the "wissenden" themselves were in the habit of holding an open court called "das ächte ding" (*the actual court*), before which the accused was summoned to appear : and it was only on his refusing or neglecting to obey the summons that sentence was passed on him in his absence by the heimliches gericht (*secret tribunal*), from which all but the initiated were excluded. The "wissenden" were divided into four classes. First, the "Stuhlherr," chairman or president, either a prince, the Archbishop of Cologne, or in later times even the emperor himself. Secondly, the "Frei-grafen," counts or nobles, elected by the chairman to be his deputies. Thirdly, the "Frei-schöppen," or *scabini* (sheriffs), chosen by the Frei-graf, who acted as jurymen. Fourthly, the "Frohnboten," messengers or executive officers, who summoned the court, executed its sentences, &c. Secrecy* was necessary, because the members of the court would otherwise have been exposed to the revenge of the numerous powerful criminals which then existed even in the higher classes of society. No priest, except the spiritual lord, no Jew, no woman, and no peasant or serf, could become a member of this court, nor could those classes of persons fall under its jurisdiction. It was destined only for the trial of free laymen, and that only in such cases as had not been, or could not be, decided by another tribunal. The proceedings of this secret court were sufficiently solemn, although the circumstance of their midnight meeting in subterraneous vaults, which imparts so fearful an interest to the magnificent trial scene in Scott's 'Anne of Geierstein,' never really existed ; the sessions of these courts being held for the most part in the halls of the episcopal palace at Cologne.

The members occupied benches, rising one above another according to the rank of the judges : the president, or his deputy, being in front, supported by the grafs, representing the Sagibarones or assessors of Charlemagne's courts ; and behind them were the schöppen, who were always free citizens. On a table in front of the president's throne lay a naked sword, having its hilt in the form of a cross, and a coil of ropes ; the former indicating, according to an ancient authority, "the cross on which Jesus

* This attribute, however, is not denoted, as is commonly supposed, by the word *Fehm*, which means a sentence of condemnation ; and *Fehm-gericht* is equivalent to "the criminal court."

Christ did suffer, and also the stern justice of the court; the cord signifying the punishment of the wicked, whereby God's wrath may be appeased." The president having taken his seat, and ascertained by the answers of the frohnbot that the necessary formalities had been duly performed, pronounced the court open, and caused proclamation of silence to be thrice made. The new members of the court (if any were present) then knelt down before the president, and each laying the two first fingers and thumb of his right hand on the sword and the cord, took a solemn oath of secrecy and fidelity. The new schöppen then received the password and the grip or pressure of the hand by which the members recognized one another, together with other signs, one of which seems to have been a particular manner of placing the knife at table, the point being turned towards the body of its owner, to indicate probably the danger of violating his oath. Then he was warned of the fearful punishment which would follow any disclosure of the secrets imparted to him: that his tongue would be torn out through the back of his neck, and his body hanged seven times higher than that of ordinary offenders. After these preliminary proceedings, the accuser having been sworn on the sword and cord, proceeded to give his evidence, and the accused, if one of the initiated, was allowed to rebut his charges on oath. The members of the court then deliberated, and if the accused was declared guilty by a majority of votes, sentence was pronounced, and a death-warrant, sealed by the president and seven schöppen, was placed in the hands of the accuser. The same punishment awaited those who refused to appear at the summons of the court.

This charge having been confirmed by the oaths of six free schöppen, sentence was solemnly pronounced by the freigraf in these words:—"Forasmuch as A. B. having been summoned before this tribunal of the Holy Vehme, to give an account of certain misdeeds with which he standeth charged, doth wilfully and obstinately refuse to appear before the same; therefore do we, acting under the authority committed to us by the constitution of the Holy Empire, pronounce the said A. B. *ferfehmed* and condemned; cast out of the number of the righteous into that of the unrighteous, separated from all good men; rejected by the four elements, which God hath given unto man for his comfort; devoid of counsel, rights, peace, honour, safety, and love. And we hereby permit and require all men to deal with him as with one accursed. And we do accordingly curse his body and his

flesh, giving his carcase to the four winds of heaven, and to the ravens and beasts of the field ; and his soul we commend to our Lord God ; if peradventure he will receive the same."

This form was thrice repeated, the grafs and schöppen spitting on the ground each time at the words, " We curse his body and flesh." Then the president called on all kings, princes, lords, knights, and esquires, together with all free grafs and schöppen, to aid and assist the court in causing execution to be done on the body of A. B., and therein not to fail for love or for hate, for friend or for kinsman, or for anything else that the world contained. Soon after the delivery of this sentence the body of the condemned was sure to be found hanging on a tree, in the trunk of which was stuck a dagger inscribed with the mystic cypher of the Vehme, S. S. G. G. (stock, stein, gras, grein),* words to which some secret meaning was probably attached beyond their ordinary signification. The Schöppen were also required to make constant circuits by day and night, and had the right of executing robbers and other notorious criminals, if caught in the fact, without waiting for the solemn decision of the Vehme. All the Vehmic tribunals were subject to the jurisdiction of the general Chapter, which was composed of the initiated members of the different courts. So great was the celebrity of these societies, that they soon spread from the Red Land (as the territory of Westphalia was called) over the greater part of Germany, and in the fourteenth century numbered 100,000 members. In the following century, however, we find princes, towns, and knights leagued against an institution which was little in accordance with the spirit of the age ; and the secret tribunals, although never formally suppressed, gradually sank into insignificance. The last Freigericht, held at Gehmen, near Münster, was superseded in the year 1811 by the introduction of the French code.

* Stick, stone, grass, groan.

CHAPTER XXII.

FREDERICK II.

IN the year 1235 Frederick contracted a third marriage with Isabella, the beautiful sister of Henry III. King of England. On the 22nd May the bride entered Cologne, where she was received by crowds of people, who strewed her way with flowers; and for many days the richest presents were distributed among the populace: but the exhibition which seems most to have delighted and surprised the chroniclers of those times was a carriage in the form of a ship, so contrived that, the persons who drew it being concealed underneath, it appeared to sail on dry land. The marriage was celebrated with great pomp at Worms. Among the guests were seventy-five princes and 12,000 knights. The Eastern style of the Imperial Court, especially the long trains of camels, attracted great attention. After this marriage the Emperor held a diet at Mentz, at which Henry was deposed, and his brother Conrad elected Frederick's successor. A general peace throughout Germany was proclaimed; and all who felt themselves aggrieved were commanded to refer their complaints to judges appointed for that purpose, instead of avenging themselves, as they had hitherto done. Murder, which had always been expiated by a fine, was now punished with death. The ordinance which contains these provisions is the first public document extant in the German language. The following year Frederick made active preparations for carrying on the war in Lombardy, and 10,000 Saracens, whom he retained in his pay, were marched towards the north of Italy, where troops of Ghibellines joined the imperial army. On the 27th November, 1237, an engagement was fought at Cortenuova. The Milanese soon fled, with the exception of a brave little band, which guarded the banner of the state. The waggon in which it was conveyed stuck fast in a swamp, and the escort, unable to extricate the wheels, tried to destroy it, that their standard might not fall into the hands of the enemy; but Frederick's warriors soon cut the defenders in pieces, and having harnessed an elephant to the waggon, conveyed the banner in triumph to Rome, where it was lodged in the Capitol. The Milanese, humbled by this defeat, now offered to recognize Frederick as their sovereign, to deliver up to him all the gold and

silver in their possession, and furnish 10,000 men for the crusades, on condition of his pardoning their former misdeeds. Frederick, however, irritated by their obstinate resistance, required unconditional surrender. Whilst affairs were in this state, the Countess Caserta, a lady who possessed considerable influence over the Emperor, addressed him in these words : " My gracious lord, you have already a fair empire ; you have all that can be desired to make man happy. In God's name, why plunge into this fresh quarrel ? " " You speak truly," replied the Emperor ; " nevertheless, for honour's sake have I proceeded thus far, and for honour's sake I will not draw back." The Milanese, informed of this decision, declared that they would rather die with swords in their hands than be destroyed by famine, imprisonment, or the axe of the executioner. Thus the war began afresh ; and although Frederick obtained many important advantages, the Milanese bravely defended their fortified cities, which in those days, when the art of attacking towns was in its infancy, were more easily defended than stormed. The Emperor, however, would at length have attained his object, had not his attention been called off by a fresh misunderstanding with the Pope, who had long feared the growing power of Frederick, and was by no means unwilling to avail himself of the first reasonable excuse for breaking with him. An opportunity soon presented itself. Sardinia, of which the Pope claimed the sovereignty as part of St. Peter's patrimony, had been seized by Frederick, who made his natural son Enzo king of the island. The remonstrances of Gregory being treated with contempt, sentence of excommunication was passed on the Emperor. " We deliver his body unto Satan," so ran the papal bull, " that his soul may be saved ; and we hereby absolve all his subjects from their oath of allegiance : for this pestilent heretic hath maintained that the world hath been misled by three deceivers, Moses, Mohammed, and Christ ; of whom two died in honour, and the third was hanged on a tree." In vain did Frederick vehemently deny having thus blasphemed the Saviour : it was retorted on him that when he was in Palestine, he had one day pointed to some ears of wheat, and remarked with a sneer to his attendants, " There grows your god," in allusion to the doctrine of transubstantiation.

A general council being summoned to discuss these questions, the Emperor, who well knew that none but his enemies would be present, gave private instructions to his son the king of Sardinia,

to seize the vessels in which they sailed ; and no fewer than twenty-two shiploads of cardinals, bishops, and prelates were in consequence captured, so that no council could be held. The imperial chancellor Peter de Vineis had previously endeavoured to dissuade them from undertaking the voyage to Rome. "All the coasts (says his circular), the harbours, and the roads are beset. But even suppose you were to reach Rome in safety, what have you to expect there but fresh perils? Broiling heat, putrid water, coarse unwholesome victuals, air so thick that you may grasp it in your hands, myriads of mosquitoes, store of serpents, and a race of men disgusting, beastly, ferocious ! The whole city is undermined, and in the hollows of the earth lurk poisonous vermin, which will spring into life with the first heats of summer. And what does the Pope want of you? He would wheedle you, and make you his tools and a cloak for his evil deeds—the organ-pipes on which he hopes to play to his heart's content. At first his commands will be light and reasonable enough, but, unless you resist them, he will go on increasing the burthen, until he breaks you like bruised reeds. Your goods, your freedom, your bodies, your souls are in jeopardy. God grant that neither vanity, nor hatred, nor ambition, nor the hopes of preferment, nor any other passion or error may plunge you into a gulf from which there is no escape. In the hope of averting such calamity your friend the Emperor sends you this warning." The Pope, who was nearly a hundred years old, survived this mortification only a few months.

About the same time Germany was overrun by a barbarous tribe named the Monguls, who came from the same land which in former days had sent forth the terrible Huns. These savages were men of moderate height, but ill-proportioned and mis-shapen, with thick blubber lips, high cheek-bones, flat noses, and small deep-set eyes. They always appeared mounted on their little lean but active horses. Their diet consisted of cats, rats, and the most disgusting garbage. In the year 1202 there had arisen among them a chief named Temudschin, who assumed the arrogant title of Zingis Khan (Lord of Lords): this chief died in 1227, after having conquered China. His sons, following up his conquests, overran Russia and Prussia, and advanced into Silesia, where they burnt the city of Breslau. Henry the Pious, Duke of Lower Silesia, met them near Liegnitz, and, although his force did not exceed 30,000 men, offered battle to the immense army of the barbarians, which according to some writers was 450,000 strong.

For two days the fight raged with great fury, and the brave duke, with most of his followers, fell in defence of their country; but the barbarians had received such a check that they did not venture to advance any farther into the land of those men of iron, as they termed the Germans. They carried off, however, from the field of battle nine sacks full of ears, which they had cut from the heads of the slain. The place where they fought is still called the Wahlstatt or battle-field. Then they marched southwards, and committed the most horrible cruelties in Moravia and Hungary; but were at length utterly defeated by the imperial forces on the banks of the Danube.

In the year 1243 Innocent IV., although a Ghibelline Pope, solemnly renewed the sentence of excommunication passed on Frederick by his predecessor, the assembled members of the council raising the hymn "*Te Deum laudamus*," "whilst the prelates standing around extinguished the torches which they had held during the ceremony, praying that thus the emperor's glory and happiness might be extinguished on the earth." As soon as the news of this violent proceeding reached Frederick, he commanded all his crowns to be brought to him, and exclaimed, as he laid his hands on them, "Now let us see whether Pope or council hath power to take these from me." The Pope now expended large sums of money in procuring the election of the Landgrave Henry of Thuringia; but he died in the following year, and William of Holland, who succeeded him, found but little support during the emperor's lifetime. Frederick's remaining years were an unbroken series of misfortunes. His favourite plan of rendering Austria an hereditary possession of his house was rendered abortive by the Pope and Ottocar King of Bohemia. His natural son Enzo was condemned to perpetual imprisonment by the people of Bologna. His chancellor, Peter de Vincis, whom he had treated as a friend and almost as an equal, attempted his life by poison, and, being imprisoned by order of the emperor, destroyed himself by dashing his head against the walls of his cell. On the 13th of December, 1250, Frederick, who had avoided the city of Florence, because it had been foretold that he should die among flowers, expired at Firenzuola in the arms of his favourite son Manfred. During his lifetime he had worn seven crowns, viz., the Imperial, the German, the iron crown of Lombardy, and those of Burgundy, Sicily, Sardinia, and Jerusalem.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XXII.

The Hanseatic League.—In 1241 was formed the league of the Hanse * towns, the most powerful commercial confederacy ever known; and we shall therefore take this opportunity to give a short sketch of its history. Since the Crusades the population and commerce of the towns on the North Sea and on the Baltic had increased enormously. Their fleets visited the Mediterranean and the East, and often fought with those of Genoa, Pisa, and Venice. The rich merchants who inhabited them had long been united by their common interests; but in the year before mentioned this merely casual union was converted into a formal league, for the purposes of protection as well against the pirates who infested the northern seas, as against all other enemies whether foreign or domestic. The first alliance was concluded between Lübeck and Hamburg. It was soon afterwards joined by Bremen, and subsequently by most of the towns of northern Germany.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Hanse League increased to such an extent that it once embraced as many as seventy cities. It could send to sea a fleet of 300 sail, manned by upwards of 12,000 seamen. This powerful navy rendered the league masters of the northern seas, and a match for the greatest sovereigns. Its aim was a commercial monopoly; for the sake of which it waged bloody wars with the Scandinavian kingdoms and with England. It was not till the fifteenth century that the latter country succeeded in shaking off the commercial yoke of the Hansa. Soon after the establishment of the league, viz. in 1249, we find Alexander von Soltwedel, a citizen of Lübeck, at the head of the Hanseatic fleet, plundering Copenhagen and burning Stralsund, then a Danish settlement. Towards the close of the same century the Hanse towns blockaded and plundered the coasts of Norway, seized King Eric's fleet, and forced him by the peace of Calmar, in 1285, to grant them a commercial monopoly. In 1361 they again waged a bloody war with Sweden and Denmark, and committed such ravages in those kingdoms that they were ultimately driven to conclude a disgraceful peace. On this occasion the Hanse towns prevented the incorporation of Schleswick and Holstein with Denmark, and forced the Danes to con-

* The old German word *Hansa* denoted "an alliance," or "confederacy."

sent that they would choose no king without the concurrence of the Hansa. At the same time Queen Margaret of Sweden was compelled to confirm all their ancient privileges, and to place Stockholm in their hands for three years, as a pledge for her observance of the treaty.

The Reformation produced a great revolution in the Hanse towns. In the year 1528 the works of Luther were publicly burnt in Lübeck by the hangman ; but two years afterwards the people rose against the burgher aristocracy, and accused them of oppression and waste of the revenues, of which they demanded an account. The town council now permitted freedom of religion ; but the people, not content with this, prohibited in their turn the exercise of the Roman Catholic worship, and proceeded to such other acts of hostility towards the higher classes, that the burgomaster, Nicholas Brömser, left the town to seek assistance. His flight was followed by the expulsion of the whole council ; and the mechanics, having seized upon the government, appointed Jürgen Wullenweber, a poor trader, to be burgomaster. Wullenweber, who by virtue of this office became president of the entire Hansa, was a man of large views and determined courage, whose chief aim it was to extend and confirm the power of the Hansa. Being joined by the Baltic towns of Stralsund, Rostock, and Wismar, he determined on effecting a revolution in Denmark, and restoring Christiern II., who had been deposed and imprisoned by the nobles. He also entertained the idea of dethroning Gustavus Wasa, King of Sweden, whom the Hanseatic League had helped to ascend the throne, but who had afterwards openly manifested his hostility towards that confederacy. For the latter purpose he sent Marx Meyer into Sweden, to stir up the people, and induce them to place Sture, a youth of royal race, upon the throne. This Meyer, originally a furrier, and one of the handsomest men of his day, had fought under Schärtlin against the Turks, and was now captain of the city-bands of Lübeck. A little previously he had sailed out against the English and Netherlanders, who were threatening the Sound ; but, being driven to the coast of England by a storm, was taken, and imprisoned as a pirate in the Tower of London. By his address and eloquence, however, he persuaded Henry VIII., who was at that time embittered against the pope and emperor, and jealous of the northern kingdoms, to conclude an alliance with Lübeck. Meyer, instead of being hanged, was dubbed a knight by Henry, who placed a heavy chain of gold

round his neck, and dismissed him with the greatest honour. He did not, however, succeed in his designs against Sweden. Wullenweber was at first more successful in his attempts in Denmark, where Meyer was also employed. Christopher, Count of Oldenburg, received from Wullenweber's hands the appointment of general, and conducted an army of Hanseatic and other German mercenaries into the Danish islands. Wullenweber's plans against Denmark were, however, finally defeated by the treachery of the Hanseatic aristocrats serving on board the fleet. Lübeck was now threatened with the ban of the empire if it did not put down its democratic government. Wullenweber was denounced as an anabaptist, his person treacherously seized in the domains of the Bishop of Bremen, and handed over to the cruel Duke Henry of Brunswick; by whom, after undergoing dreadful tortures, he was ultimately beheaded. A like fate overtook Meyer, who was beheaded by the Danes, contrary to their promise when he surrendered.

The assembly or congress of the Hanse towns was held at Lübeck, where the archives and public chest were kept. The allied towns were ultimately divided into four circles, with a metropolis and alderman at the head of each. In the fifteenth century, the most flourishing period of the league, these circles were composed as follows:—1. The Wendish towns, with Lübeck at the head, including Hamburg, Bremen, Rostock, Kiel, Greifswald, Stettin, Wisby in Gothland, &c. 2. The Westerlings, embracing the principal towns of Holland and Westphalia, under Cologne as the principal city. 3. The Saxon circle, of which Brunswick was the chief town, including Magdeburg, Halle, Hanover, Erfurt, Brandenburg, Frankfort on the Oder, Breslau, &c. 4. The Easterlings, embracing Thorn, Königsberg, Riga, &c., under Dantsic.

The Teutonic order was in close alliance with the league, and sent its deputies to the assembly. These variously situated towns had, however, very different interests, which often clashed; and hence a want of union frequently prevailed, and deprived the league of that strength which its extent seemed otherwise to promise.

Out of its own circles the Hanseatic League possessed four grand *emporia*, or commercial depôts, each forming the market of a large extent of country. The town of Novogrod in Russia was the emporium for that country, as well as for Poland, Prussia,

Livonia, Asia Minor, and Persia. London was the market for England, Scotland, and Ireland. Here the Hanse towns had a factory in Thames Street, governed by a body of their merchants, and enjoyed many exclusive privileges, which often excited the jealousy and hatred of the Londoners, who in the reign of Henry VII. succeeded in getting their privileges curtailed, and soon afterwards entirely abolished. Bergen was the emporium for Denmark, Sweden, and Norway ; and Bruges that for the Netherlands, Germany, and the South of Europe. In these foreign factories the Hanse merchants lived in community, and were bound like monks by a vow of celibacy, for fear that marriage might connect them too closely to the country in which they were settled, and cause them to forget the interests of their own. The confederacy was broken up in 1630, when Lübeck, Hamburg, and Bremen formed a new league.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CONRAD IV.—WILLIAM OF HOLLAND.—RICHARD OF CORNWALL AND ALFONSO OF CASTILE.—THE INTERREGNUM.

From A.D. 1250 to 1273.

FREDERICK II. had settled by will that his son Conrad should inherit the sovereignty of Germany and the imperial crown, and that Manfred, the son of his last wife Bianca, should be viceroy of Apulia. The rest of his possessions were divided among other members of his family ; it being expressly stipulated that the Pope should receive back all that had at any time been withdrawn from the Holy See. By these concessions he hoped to appease the anger which had burned so fiercely during his lifetime ; but the Pope, far from being propitiated, no sooner received the intelligence of Conrad's accession to the throne than he pronounced his title null, and sent out mendicant monks to preach a crusade against him as an unbeliever and a heathen. After sustaining a defeat at Oppenheim, where William of Holland, the rival king, fought against him in person, Conrad fell sick and died, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by his enemies. He left behind him one son, called by the Germans Conrad the younger, and by the Italians Conradino. Meanwhile William of Holland made little progress. So lightly indeed was he esteemed, that on

one occasion he was pelted with stones by the citizens of Utrecht, and soon afterwards was in danger of being burned in his palace by the Archbishop of Cologne. In the year 1256 he perished in a frozen morass, which he was attempting to cross on horseback during an expedition against the people of Friesland. The condition of Germany was now so degraded that the crown was actually offered for sale to the highest bidder; and Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III., King of England, purchased the votes of the Archbishop of Mentz and his adherents with a large sum of money, of which the archbishop received 12,000 marks and each of the other electors 8000. Thirty-two waggons, if we may believe the historians of that period, followed the candidate into Germany, each drawn by eight horses, and laden with a hogshead of gold. These disgraceful transactions are bitterly censured by Reinmar of Zweter, a German satirical poet.

Die Venediger han vernommen,
 Dasz das Römsche Reich feil sey.
 Da sind sie mit Briefen kommen,
 Sie wollen gern auch ihre Steuer geben,
 Dasz es komme in ihre Gewalt.

Komm du selber, Antichrist,
 Komm, es braucht weiter keiner Frist—
 Du findest feile Fürsten, feile Grafen,
 Gibst du ihnen Silber und Gold, so werden alle dein.

And when the men of Venice heard
 The crown was to be sold,
 They sent right trusty messengers,
 With bags well fill'd with gold.

Nay, had th' accursed Antichrist
 His coffer open'd wide,
 Full many a prince and counts enow
 Had voted on his side.

On the other hand the Archbishop of Trèves and his faction entered into negotiations with Alfonso of Castille, surnamed the Wise, who offered 20,000 marks to each of the electors. Alfonso and Richard were *both* elected at the same time; the former *in* the city of Frankfort, the latter *outside* the gates. The Pope had always promised to settle the claims of these two candidates; but his decision was postponed from year to year, whilst Germany, torn by factions, and without a recognized governor, seemed on the eve of losing for ever the glorious name which she had enjoyed during so many centuries.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XXIII.

Conradin.—In the year 1258 the regent Manfred was crowned King of Apulia, the nobles rightly judging that to allow Conradin, a child of six years old, to continue on the throne, would be an abandonment of their resistance to the arrogant pretensions of Rome. On the other hand, the Pope declared the throne of Apulia vacant, and, after offering it to several foreign princes, at length found one who was willing to accept it in the person of Count Charles of Anjou, brother of Lewis IX. of France, generally known in history by the title of St. Lewis. This prince was in every respect the opposite of his pious brother. Of undoubted courage and extraordinary talents, but ambitious, stern, and cruel, his conduct never failed to justify the alarm which his dark scowling visage excited in the minds of those who beheld him. His wife, the Countess of Provence, was, if possible, more ambitious than himself. Once at a solemn festival, where her sisters took precedence of her, she was so irritated that the Count could only pacify her by promising that he would make her a greater queen than either of them. He had long carried on secret negotiations with the Pope, and at length concluded a treaty by which it was agreed that he should be put in possession of the crown of Apulia and Sicily, on condition of paying down immediately 50,000 marks of silver; and 8000 ounces of gold yearly, besides sending every three years a white palfrey to Rome, in token of homage for his fief.

In 1266 the Count of Anjou encountered and utterly defeated the army of Manfred, near Benevento. When all was lost, Manfred rushed furiously into the midst of the enemy, and died, bravely fighting to the last. Two days after this battle his body was found amidst a heap of slain, and privately buried by the high-minded chivalry of France; who paid to a brave warrior the honours refused to his memory by their leader, each knight casting a stone on the humble grave of his enemy, and thus raising a tumulus or barrow, which was called the "Mount of Roses."

In the year 1267 Conradin, having been invited by a deputation from the patriotic party in Apulia to resume the crown of which he had been unjustly deprived, entered Italy at the head of 10,000 men, and established his head quarters at Verona, where

he remained three months, in order that his friends, the Ghibelines, might have time to collect their forces. His youth, the surpassing beauty of his person, and his eloquence, won all hearts; the Italians, almost to a man, receiving him with acclamations, and joining his standard. Battle after battle was fought, in all of which the French were beaten, and Conradin at length entered Rome in triumph, and was conducted to the Capitol by a troop of young maidens who strewed the way with flowers. But the star of Hohenstaufen had reached its highest elevation, and was soon to sink for ever. Near Sarcola, in Apulia, Conradin's army, after obtaining some advantage over the French, dispersed in search of booty, and falling into an ambuscade was utterly routed, 23rd August, 1268. Conradin and his faithful friend, Frederick of Austria, escaped through the swiftness of their horses, but were afterwards betrayed by Frangipani of Astura, and delivered up to Charles. A commission, consisting of the most renowned jurists, was immediately appointed to try the unfortunate captives. The act of accusation stated that Conrad had "taken up arms against Charles, the rightful king of Apulia; had vexed the church, and profaned and desolated churches and convents." The commissioners, when called on to deliver their sentence, maintained a gloomy silence: at length Guido of Sucaria rose and addressed the court: "Conrad," said this fearless judge, "came not as a robber or a rebel, but to recover his hereditary kingdom: he was not taken prisoner in the battle, but captured whilst attempting to fly; and mercy to the captive is enjoined by the laws both of God and man." All the other judges expressed the same opinion, except Robert de Bari, Charles's chancellor; but the voice of this perjured wretch prevailed against those of his colleagues, and sentence of death was pronounced on Conradin and Frederick, and communicated to them whilst they were playing at chess in their prison. On the 22nd October, 1268, two months after the battle of Sarcola, the last of the Hohenstaufen was led out from his dungeon to a scaffold erected close to the city of Naples, and facing the blue waters of the Mediterranean, as if his enemy had desired to aggravate the bitterness of death by setting before the eyes of his victim all the glories of that beautiful scene on which they were about to close for ever. A deep sullen murmur ran through the crowd, as their rightful prince ascended the scaffold. Even the French were moved by the spectacle; and when Robert of Bari advanced

to read the sentence, he was instantly felled to the ground by Count Robert of Flanders, the usurper's son-in-law, and carried senseless from the place of execution. Charles of Anjou, who stood at one of the palace windows, observed with ill-concealed rage and apprehension that this generous action was applauded by the French: but no attempt was made to rescue the condemned; and the executioner completed his ghastly preparations without further interruption except from the groans of the Neapolitans, and here and there the muttered execration of a French soldier. Conradin now addressed the crowd, who listened in breathless silence to his last words: "I summon," he said, "my judges before the tribunal of the Most High. My innocent blood, shed on this scaffold, will cry to Heaven for vengeance: nor do I hold my Swabians and Bavarians, or my German people, so base and degenerate but that they will wash out in French blood this insult to their land." Having spoken thus he threw down his gauntlet, which a German knight, Truchsesz of Waldburg, took up and conveyed to Conradin's brother-in-law, Peter of Arragon. Conradin then took off his upper garment, embraced his friends, and murmuring some words about his mother, which were not very distinctly heard, laid his head on the block. As the blood spouted up under the axe of the executioner, his fellow-sufferer, Frederick, uttered a dismal shriek, and at the same moment, if we may believe tradition, an eagle descended, and having bathed its right wing in the crimson pool, mounted again to the sky. Frederick of Austria was then executed with several others. Thousands of the spectators melted into tears at the sad spectacle, and gave vent to their sorrow in low and dismal murmurs. But, though Charles obtained Apulia, Sicily was snatched from him, and the murder of Conradin was at length fearfully avenged. In the night of the 30th March, 1282 (called the Sicilian Vespers), the Ghibellines rose and put all the Frenchmen in the island to death. Peter of Arragon was called to the throne in right of his wife Constance, and, in spite of all the resistance of Charles of Anjou, continued to retain possession of the island. In the year 1285, amidst all the horrors of a guilty conscience, the murderer of the last Hohenstaufen ended his miserable life.

Condition of Germany in the Thirteenth Century.—We have now concluded another period in the history of Germany. From the earliest times the monarchy had been elective, and the right of election had resided in the people generally; but the obvious

impossibility of so many hundreds of thousands assembling in one place to give their votes, compelled the people to abandon their right in favour of the richer and more powerful, who appeared with their vassals at the place of election. For a considerable time a few princes of the greatest power and authority had been allowed to name the person whom they wished to be elected emperor; and this nomination, which was called the right of *præ-taxation*, was confirmed or rejected by the people. In the period we are considering this right of nomination passed into an absolute right of election; but at what precise time this change took place cannot be determined. It must, however, have been either in or before the time of Frederick II., since the seven *electors* are mentioned by a writer of that reign. Three of these were spiritual nobles, viz., the Archbishop of Mentz, arch-chancellor of the Empire; the Archbishop of Trèves, chancellor of Burgundy; and the Archbishop of Cologne, chancellor of Italy—and four temporal, viz., the Palatine of the Rhine, Grand-sewer of the empire, who bore the orb in the coronation procession, and placed the dishes on table at the banquet; the King of Bohemia, chief butler, who presented the cup; the Duke of Saxe-Wittenberg, grand marshal, who bore the sword of state before the emperor, and superintended the arrangement of the stables; and the Margrave of Brandenburg, grand chamberlain, who carried the sceptre, superintended the household, and presented water to the emperor at the conclusion of the banquet. In virtue of these offices, the seven electoral princes, having chosen the emperor, crowned him at Aix-la-Chapelle. But their delegated authority extended no farther, for at the diets (the first of which was usually held at Nürnberg) a crowd of nobles, bishops, abbots, knights, and even citizens attended, and claimed the same right of voting as electors of the empire.

From the time that the greater as well as smaller fiefs became hereditary, surnames began to be added to the single Christian name by which the nobles had hitherto been designated. These names were for the most part derived from the fortresses or possessions of their owners: thus one who had before been distinguished only by the title of Count Frederick or Count Henry, would assume the appellation of Frederick of Schönberg, or Henry of Ehrenburg, which was handed down from father to son. As all who had any pretensions to gentle birth were desirous of serving on horseback in the wars, degrees of chivalry were instituted, by which the

aspirant ascended to the rank of knight. The noble youth began his career as page, then he became esquire (*écuyer*, or shield-bearer): and lastly, after having given proofs of his bravery and prowess in the field, received the golden spurs of knighthood, and swore to defend the right, and to protect religion, innocence, the widow, and the orphan. If he broke this vow, his spurs were hewn from his heels, his horse's tail cut off, and his shield, after having had its bearings erased, was dragged through the mud at the tail of a sorry hack. With much that was noble, and great, and virtuous, chivalry introduced fearful evils. Many a knight, forgetful of his vow to protect the weak, sallied forth from his mountain fortress on the defenceless traveller, robbed him of his property, and returning to his stronghold, laughed to scorn the feeble powers of the law. The only protection against these acts of violence was to be sought in the arm of some more powerful noble, or in confederacies of several cities. Hence arose the *Faust-recht* (*fist-right*) or right of the strong-hand, which supplied in a very imperfect degree the want of well-administered laws, and a vigorous police.

"In the houses of the nobles," says an old annalist, "you may see store of silver and gold; but the most prominent articles of furniture are swords, and coats of mail, and battlemaces, which they love to display, as badges of their dignity, and tokens of their noble descent. Nor is the common man without a supply of good serviceable weapons, which he is ready to snatch from the wall at the first alarm of danger." So universal indeed was the necessity of self-defence, as well as the taste for military glory, that even the clergy frequently bore arms. Christian, Archbishop of Mentz, who commanded the armies of Frederick I. in Italy, was no less celebrated as a warrior than as a statesman. He spoke six languages,—German, Latin, the dialects of Brabant and Lombardy, Greek, and French. In the field he appeared mounted on a battle horse, which he managed with knightly skill and grace, his violet-coloured robe thrown over a coat of mail, a gilded helmet on his head, and a mace in his right hand; and so effectually did he handle his weapon, that in various engagements he is said to have struck down nine enemies with his own hand. Instruction in the art of war seems in fact to have been the only education bestowed on the youthful Germans. "Their boys," says an ancient writer, "learn to ride before they can speak; and let the horses leap and plunge as they may, my young gentlemen sit on

their backs as firm as rocks. I think the bearing of weapons comes as naturally to the Germans as the use of their own limbs; for it is astonishing, and well nigh incredible, how skilful they are in the management of horses, as well as in the use of bow, lance, sword, and shield."

Literature.—The sciences were almost exclusively in the hands of the clergy, until the first German university was founded in 1349. Since the days of Charlemagne no emperor had done so much for the advancement of learning as Frederick II.; but in the turbulent days of the interregnum all was again darkness. Poetry could not but flourish among a people full of imagination and enthusiasm, at a period when the crusades, the exploits of knights, the gorgeous ceremonies of the church, all furnished ample matter for the exercise of the minstrel's art.

From the earliest times two leading dialects had prevailed in Germany; the Swabian, or High-German, and the Saxon, or Low-German. It was in the former dialect, and consequently in the southern parts of Germany, that the "Ritter-poesie" or chivalrous poetry appeared. It flourished from the 12th to the beginning of the 14th century, and is therefore bounded by the dynasty of the Hohenstaufens. All the princes of that house were themselves poets, not only in the Swabian, but also in the Italian dialect, and their court formed the assembly and the school of poets. The *Minne-lieder*, or songs of love, were indeed much older than this period, but they were first brought to perfection in it. This species of poetry no doubt received an impulse from the Troubadours and Trouveres of France; but in Germany it assumed its own peculiar tone from the deeper and more earnest feeling of the people. Among the most renowned of the Minnesänger were Hartmann von der Aue, Wolfram von Eschenbach, Walter von der Vogelweide, Heinrich Frauenlob, and others. The last, a canon of Mentz, who, as his name imports, excelled in praising the ladies, was carried to his grave by the most beautiful women of Mentz, who saturated the sod with libations of wine, not unmingled with their tears. The Wartburg, the castle of the counts of Thuringia, afterwards celebrated as Luther's place of confinement, was much frequented by the Minnesingers; and here Count Hermann of Thuringia held a kind of poetical tourney or contest, which was attended by the most famous poets in Germany.

The greatest literary monuments of this period are, however, the "Niebelungenlied" and the "Heldenbuch," or "Book of

Heroes." The former of these works is a kind of German *Iliad*, which, though the action is laid in the time of Attila, contains a series of German legends from the age of heathenism to that of the Hohenstaufen dynasty. They were strung together by some unknown poet towards the end of the twelfth century.

The Arts.—In painting, Henry of Bavaria was distinguished in the twelfth century, and Jacob Kern, of Nürnberg, in the thirteenth. The art of painting on glass was not introduced until the fourteenth. The Netherlands, and the city of Cologne, the latter especially, were the chief schools of painting. In architecture an extraordinary revolution took place at the beginning of the eleventh century. At the first establishment of Christianity in Germany, the missionaries of Byzantium and Rome would naturally build their churches after the ecclesiastical models of their native countries: a taste which continued to be fostered by the close connection of the Othos with the Byzantine court; but under the Hohenstaufens, or a little before the accession of that line, a new style was introduced, which emulated the light and elegant architecture of the Saracens, and was called the Gothic, probably because it was derived from the Gothic Christians of Spain, whose daily intercourse with the Arabians led them to adopt many of their customs. The peculiarities which distinguish this style seem to be the result of a deeply devotional, but somewhat fantastic, spirit, which impelled the architects of those days to embody in stone their glowing conceptions of religious mysteries. Thus, the building must be lofty, because it is the temple of the Most High. All its parts must be perpendicular, springing like plants out of the ground, without any indication of the labour employed on them, and the whole must be terminated by a lofty and pointed spire—because faith, which springs up by God's free grace in the soul, continues to ascend until it gazes steadfastly into heaven. The ground plan must be in the form of a cross, because the cross is the groundwork of the Christian faith; the altar placed at the east end, because the Saviour will come from the east at the last day—and raised three steps above the body of the church as a symbol of the blessed Trinity. The same intention was carried out in the minor details of the church; as for instance, in the rose and cross; the former indicating the world, or human life—the latter, faith. Thus, the cross in the centre of a rose was the universal symbol of the God-head in the middle ages. Until the thirteenth century each con-

vent had its own masons, sculptors, architects, and painters; but at that period there arose a guild, whose members enjoyed the exclusive privilege of building churches on account of their exquisite architectural skill. These men, who were bound together by oaths and signs, known only to the initiated, were called "Free Masons," and their art the "Royal Craft." The minster of Strasburg was begun in 1015, the foundation of its famous tower laid in 1276, and completed by John Hülz, of Cologne, in 1439. Architects have here displayed their satirical wit in a variety of forms. In one groupe a bear holds the vessel of holy water and sprinkling brush, a wolf the cross, a hare the taper, a hog and ram a box of reliques, in which lies a sleeping fox, whilst a donkey reads the mass resting his book on the back of a cat. The cathedral of Cologne was begun in 1248, and the choir finished in 1320. A wild legend, in which the devil is represented as giving the plan of the minster to an architect in exchange for his soul, accounts for the incompleteness of the work in the following manner:—The parties had met, according to appointment, at midnight in a lone spot, without the city walls. The architect (as he had been instructed by a priest) stretched forth his left hand and seized the parchment on which the plan was drawn, whilst with his right he held before the eyes of the tempter a reliquary containing a portion of the bones of the eleven thousand martyred virgins. The baffled fiend, uttering a loud cry, strove to repossess himself of his drawing; but the architect held it firmly, shielding himself with his reliquary, and the parchment being torn in the struggle, a small portion of the working plan was for ever lost.

CHAPTER XXIV.

RUDOLPH OF HABSBURG.

From A.D. 1273 to 1291.



Castle of Habsburg, Switzerland.

HAD a foreign army invaded Germany during the interregnum which succeeded the death of Frederick II., the empire must have fallen almost without a struggle, since few of the nobles would have been inclined to unite for its protection. The electors, therefore, when Richard of Cornwall died, agreed to set aside the claims of his rival Alfonso, and forgetting their party feuds for a season, to elect one who should be something more than the shadow of a sovereign. With this view they consulted the Pope, who, since the death of Frederick, had exercised almost unlimited control over the affairs of the empire. To find a suitable candidate was by no means easy. It was necessary that the future Emperor should be a warrior of some reputation, that he might be able to resist the encroachments of Ottocar, the powerful King of Bohemia; he must be, to a certain extent, a favourite of the

people, but at the same time a zealous promoter of aristocratic interests, and blindly devoted to the papal see: one, in short, who would use his imperial power only in the manner which the nobles and Pope might prescribe. After considerable delay an individual was found, who more than any other seemed to possess the requisite qualifications. Count Rudolph of Habsburg had fought under Ottocar in Hungary, and received knighthood from his sword; subsequently, he had served the nobles against Strasburg and Basle, then the citizens of Strasburg against their Bishop, and latterly had been carrying on a petty war on his own account against the Abbot of St. Gall. In all these affairs, whether fighting for the interest of others or for his own, he had been distinguished as a brave and successful warrior. Two passages of his life are mentioned, which had conciliated for him the favour of the clergy. He was one day following the chace, when he saw a priest preparing to ford a small river which had been swollen by the sudden descent of a mountain torrent. Accosting him with many expressions of kindness, Rudolph offered him his own charger for the purpose of crossing the stream. The priest, who was carrying the sacrament to a dying man, gladly accepted this offer, and having visited his penitent, led the horse back to its owner. "Now, God forbid," said the count, "that I should ever again mount the beast which hath borne Him from whom I hold body and life, honour and estate." The other adventure was with the Archbishop of Mentz, whom he escorted, not without considerable personal risk and inconvenience, across the Alps to the frontier of Italy. On the 21st October, 1273, Rudolph of Habsburg was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, in presence, we are told, of twenty thousand knights and an immense concourse of people. During the troublous times which followed the death of Frederick II., the insignia of the empire had been removed, none knew whither; but Rudolph turned this loss to account, by taking the crucifix from the high altar and administering on it the oath which had been usually sworn on the imperial sceptre: "The symbol of our redemption," he said, "might well supply its place." The sanction of the holy see to his election was easily obtained, the Archbishop of Cologne having already recommended him to Gregory X. as a "sound Christian, a true friend of the church, a lover of righteousness, mighty in his own strength, and allied with the mighty." Gregory came in person to meet him at Lausanne, and there, kneeling at the Pope's feet, Rudolph

swore unconditional obedience to the see of Rome. In after life he sought to justify this act of self-abasement. "I saw the marks of many footsteps going into the lion's den; but none returning thence: therefore did I hold it for the truest wisdom to serve the lion of the church rather than to fight with him." One of the conditions imposed on Rudolph at his election was, that he should humble the pride of Ottocar, of Bohemia. Accordingly, he took the field in 1276, and Ottocar, conscious of a bad cause, yielded without striking a blow; surrendering Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola to the empire, and retaining Bohemia and Moravia to be held as fiefs, for which he was to do homage. For this purpose he appeared in great pomp on the island of Lobau, in the Danube, where Rudolph, dressed in an old grey doublet and hose, received him under a tent, which he caused to be withdrawn, whilst Ottocar was in the act of kneeling before him.* Stung by this insult, and the persevering reproaches of his wife, Ottocar again rose against the Emperor; and meeting him in the neighbourhood of Vienna, was slain, after fighting bravely against overwhelming numbers, by the two sons of a Bohemian noble, whom he had cruelly put to death many years before. The enemies of the empire being thus humbled, Rudolph next directed his attention to the establishment of internal tranquillity; and with this view travelled into every part of Germany, listening to complaints and redressing grievances. It contributed not a little to his popularity, that instead of Latin (the language hitherto employed in judicial proceedings) he invariably delivered his decrees in German. During these progresses the country was gradually cleared of the robber nobles, sixty-six of their castles being demolished in Thuringia alone, and twenty-nine of the most notorious freebooters hanged in chains at Erfurt. Rudolph died on the 15th of July, 1291. His death was universally lamented by the people of Germany, who still listen with delight to tales of his prowess, and the impartial justice with which he vindicated the rights of the oppressed. In the words of an old chronicler of that day, "He was the best warrior of his time: he was the truest man that ever judge's office wan."†

* This incident, however, is questioned by modern critics.

† Er war der best Urlugsman siner Zyt; er war der türest Mann, der Richters Amt je gewann.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XXIV.

The German Nobles.—The proud and ancient families who had preserved their allodial estates would acknowledge no lord but the Emperor, and were the sworn enemies of the princes of the empire, the bishops, and the cities. The more powerful of them emulated the princes, and availed themselves of the disorders of the times to extend their power. It was thus that noble families arose which at first possessed nothing but a small castle, as those of Habsburg, Luxemburg, Würtemberg, Hohenzollern, Nassau, and others. The weaker of them were either overthrown and compelled by the more powerful to do feudal service, or else maintained themselves by imitating the confederated cities, and forming brotherhoods. The way of life of these bold cavaliers was romantic enough. If the labour of their serfs did not suffice to maintain them and their armed followers, they attacked the wealthy convents, or the goods of the merchants whilst on their passage from town to town. The cities, and sometimes even the Emperor himself, were obliged to take the field against them. On these occasions their castles were destroyed, and they themselves, when they could be caught, were hanged up in their armour and spurs to the next tree.

Several poor knights dwelling in the same neighbourhood frequently built a castle at their joint expense, and left it in common to their children. Such were called "Gauerben." In Suabia five knightly families once lived together in one of these castles, and had amongst them 100 children. The bold spirit of these castled lords remained unbroken even down to the time of the Reformation, as we see from the history of the Sickingens and Grumbachs. In the songs of the Minnesänger the bitter complaints of these knights are often recorded, who, though equal to the princes in birth, were so far below them in power. The four castles, or rather robbers' nests, of the celebrated Landschaden von Neckar-Steinach are still to be seen on the banks of the Neckar. Having been placed under the ban of the empire, Landschaden clothed himself in black armour, and keeping his visor always down, joined the crusaders and distinguished himself by his extraordinary valour. For these deeds the Emperor, surrounded by his knights, wished to reward him; his visor was drawn up and discovered the well-known face of the old robber.

It is told in ancient chronicles that a whole band of these knights, led by the lords of Bibra, Ebersberg, Thüngen, and Steinau, concealed themselves in wine-casks and caused themselves to be conveyed into the little town of Brückenau, for the purpose of plundering it; but as they were too long in packing up their booty, they were surprised by the citizens and driven out of the town. The Baron Von Kreukingen received the Emperor Barbarossa at his estate of Tengen near Constance without rising from his seat; not that he wished to show any personal disrespect to his sovereign, but because, as he asserted, he held his estate in fief from nobody but the sun. Every traveller on the Rhine will have observed the numerous ruined castles which crown its banks between Bingen and Bonn, once the strongholds of those lawless barons, and the terror of the surrounding country.

Others of the nobles joined the different orders of knights, who, when thus associated, were able to maintain their independence, and possessed a power equal to that of the princes. The first of these were the Knights of St. John; but the Teutonic order was more peculiarly German. As, however, it emigrated into Prussia it became estranged from the affairs of the empire, though its ranks were continually recruited from the German nobility.

A third class of the nobles held their lands in fief under the princes and more powerful nobility and clergy, and generally took service in the different courts. Many of these fiefs were inseparably connected with offices at court. The baron who was unable to maintain himself in his mountain fortress, or unwilling to enter some spiritual order, had indeed no other method of gratifying his ambition and his love of show and adventure but by attaching himself to the court of a prince.

CHAPTER XXV.

ADOLPHUS OF NASSAU—ALBERT OF AUSTRIA.

From A.D. 1291 to 1308.



Kaufhaus of Mentz, pulled down at the beginning of the present century.

THE Emperor's eldest son, Rudolph of Suabia, died early, leaving a son named John, whose claim to the crown was set aside without discussion. The standard of morality was still so low among the electors that Gerard, Archbishop of Mentz, whose character is pronounced by a German historian to have been so "utterly corrupt and wicked that the devil might have envied him," did not scruple to offer to each of them a large sum of money, in order to secure the nomination of his cousin, Adolphus of Nassau, whom he had selected as a manageable instrument for carrying out his own ambitious schemes. As a warrior the new sovereign was by no means inferior to his contemporaries; but his character was ferocious, even beyond the wont of those barbarous times, and unlimited indulgence in the pleasures of the table had rendered his body bloated and unwieldy. In order to increase the hereditary possessions of his house he purchased Meissen and Thuringia from Albert the Degenerate, with a large sum of

money given to him by Edward I. of England, on condition of his invading France, a promise which he did not scruple to violate as soon as the gold was safe in his coffers. This Albert had married Margaret, a daughter of Frederick II., whom he persecuted with the most unrelenting hatred. Being compelled to separate from her children, the mother bit the eldest, Frederick, severely in the cheek, that the scar might always remind him of the debt of vengeance which he owed to his unnatural father. Soon afterwards she died at Frankfort, and the sons escaped from their persecutor; but after a short time they were retaken, and would have perished in prison had not the compassionate servants brought them bread, and at last supplied them with the means of escape. The brave young men were no sooner free than they took up arms against the King of Germany and their father, and were universally supported by the people, who groaned under the iron yoke of Adolphus, whose troops were continually perpetrating the most wanton outrages. On one occasion they daubed two women all over with pitch, then feathered them, and exhibited them in the camp as a couple of uncommon birds. The Count of Hohenstein, who complained to Adolphus of this outrage, was rudely driven from his presence. At Mühlhausen, where they had been kindly received, the soldiers committed such excesses that the citizens rose in a body and drove them out of the town; and at Freiburg, which Adolphus besieged a whole year, a great number of his soldiers having perished through a sudden sinking of the ground, the people compared the calamity to the judgment that fell on Korah and his company, who were swallowed up quick on account of their enormous wickedness. After a long resistance the two Thuringian brothers were obliged to fly from the country; but the triumph of the king was short-lived. His former patron, Archbishop Gerard, finding him by no means so tractable a puppet as he had expected, a second time had recourse to bribery, and persuaded the electors assembled in diet at Mentz to declare the throne vacant, and elect Albert Duke of Austria. This prince had already strengthened himself by an alliance with the King of Hungary, and recruited his coffers by receiving a large sum from France on condition of his making war on England and the King of Germany. Assembling a large army, he met Adolphus near Worms, and by a counterfeit flight induced him and his cavalry to follow, until they were a considerable distance in advance of the infantry, when Albert's forces rallied, and aim-

ing chiefly at the horses, brought the knights to the ground, where they lay helplessly in their heavy armour, and were easily despatched. Adolphus, wounded, and without his helmet, fought with the most desperate courage, seeking his enemy in every part of the field. But Albert, like Richmond in the battle of Bosworth, had dressed a number of men in armour similar to his own; so that, although many of his counterfeits were slain, the real general escaped unwounded; and Adolphus later in the day fell by his hand, or by the sword of one of his officers. The new sovereign was a man of cold, heartless temper, and singularly ill-favoured physiognomy. He had once been poisoned, and the physicians could devise no better mode of cure than hanging him up by the heels and plucking out one of his eyes, in order that the poison might escape through it. This loss gave his face, in addition to its natural ugliness, a mean and sinister expression.

As the great object of Albert was to govern absolutely, in imitation of the King of France, one of the first measures of his reign was to depress the bishops and free cities by the withdrawal of their ancient privileges, and to render as many of the nobles as possible dependent on the crown, by compelling a hundred knights to reside constantly at his court, where they were required to act as a body-guard. An attempt to possess himself of Holland failed through the interference of the French king; nor was he more successful in the plans which he had formed to make himself master of Burgundy and Bohemia. On the other hand he sought and obtained support from the burghers of the Rhenish and Suabian cities against Archbishop Gerard of Mentz, and the Count Palatine Rudolph, who had almost annihilated the commerce of their subjects by the imposition of heavy tolls on all articles of merchandise conveyed along the Rhine; an act which is designated by an English chronicler as "*mira Germanorum insania*," the unaccountable folly of the Germans. The Archbishop it appears had offended his haughty master by telling him that he could at any time by one blast of his horn call up a new Emperor. Gerard appealed to the Pope, but could obtain no redress. Meanwhile the Thuringian prince Frederick "with the bitten cheek," whose gigantic suit of armour is still exhibited in the Wartburg, had returned from exile, and falling in love with his beautiful step-sister Elizabeth, bore her off to that fortress. But the armies of Albert had overrun Thuringia, and he was compelled to abandon this place of refuge, bearing with him his newly-born child.

Hearing it cry, he ordered the troops to halt, and hard pressed as he was, kept the enemy at bay until the nurse had pacified his infant. After twice defeating the imperial forces, he obtained undisturbed possession of his hereditary dominions in the year 1307.

During these feuds the three Swiss cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, having thrown off their allegiance to the Dukes of Austria, and declared themselves an independent state, Albert swore bloody vengeance for the insult offered to his authority. But before he could follow up this intention an event occurred which put an end to all his projects. John of Bohemia, the son of his deceased brother Rudolph, had often implored his uncle to restore the hereditary possessions of which the younger branch of the family had been unjustly deprived; but his remonstrances were generally answered by the most galling sarcasms, and on one occasion Albert placed a garland of flowers on the young man's head, telling him that such a crown was best suited to his tender years. The youth, hitherto patient and gentle, became irritable and morose after receiving this insult, and did not hesitate to communicate his angry feelings to some of the discontented nobles, whom, in accordance with the policy already mentioned, Albert compelled to reside at his court. Five of these persons swore that they would never rest until they were revenged on the tyrant, and had restored John as well as themselves to the rights which were unjustly withheld from them. An occasion soon presented itself. On the first day of May, 1308, Albert rode with a few attendants towards Rheinfelden, not far from Habsburg; the ferry which the travellers were to cross was already in sight, and the Emperor paused to admire the beautiful scene before him ere he descended into the valley of the Reuss. Even the swelling heart of John seemed to have been soothed, and his plan of revenge for a moment abandoned; when the Emperor, as if urged on by an evil spirit to his destruction, repeated the insult which had already cost his nephew so many tears. They had now reached the ferry, where a small boat waited to convey them across the river at two trips. John and his fellow conspirators rushing forward succeeded in getting into the boat with the Emperor and one solitary attendant. Having crossed the ferry they re-mounted, and proceeded at a brisk pace until they reached a sort of dingle, the thick bushes of which screened them from the eyes of their companions, who were waiting on the other side for the return of the boat. The opportunity was too favourable to be lost; John seized his uncle's

bridle-rein, and shouted in a voice which trembled with passion, "Let us now see whether the possessions of my father will be restored to me." The Emperor started, but immediately recovering his presence of mind, tried to soothe his nephew by fair promises ; but the conspirators had gone too far to recede. "How long will ye suffer this carrion to sit on horseback?" shouted Rudolph of Wart, and followed up the words by rushing on the Emperor and stabbing him with his dagger, whilst at the same moment another of the conspirators clove his skull with the blow of a sword. Albert sank to the ground, where he lay biting the dust in agony, and rolling over and over in the blood which streamed from his wounds. A poor woman of the most degraded class, who happened to be passing that way, laid the head of the wounded man in her lap, and tried to staunch the blood ; but the assassins had done their work so surely that in a few moments the struggles of the Emperor were over. The vengeance of God pursued the murderers. John fled into Italy ; but his remorse was so great that he threw himself at the feet of the Pope, who sentenced him, at the request of the Emperor, Henry VII., to perpetual seclusion in an Augustine convent at Pisa. Wart was sentenced to be broken on the wheel. At first he denied his guilt, but being confronted with the attendant who had witnessed the murder, he attempted no further defence. His crushed and mangled limbs were transferred to another wheel, which was set up on a pole by the way-side, where he was left to die a lingering death ; but his sufferings were in some degree alleviated by the affectionate care of his wife, who sat day and night beneath the wheel moistening his parched and swollen tongue with a sponge dipped in water. After his death she retired into a convent at Basle, where she passed the rest of her life in prayer and penitence.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XXV.

The Swiss Confederacy.—William Tell.—Switzerland at the beginning of the fourteenth century consisted of several small provinces or cantons, some of them hereditary possessions of the House of Habsburg, others dependencies of the empire. Among the latter were the three forest cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, which Albert wished to annex to the dukedom of Austria. His attempts, however, were vehemently resisted by

the sturdy Swiss, who were at length driven to open rebellion by a series of insults offered to them by Gessler, the Austrian bailiff of Uri. This Gessler (says an old Swiss chronicler), who was bailiff of Uri and Schwyz, had built a fortress in Uri for the purpose of overawing the inhabitants of that canton, and had given it the offensive title of Zwing-Uri (*Force-Uri*), which exasperated the people to such a degree, that insurrections broke out in different parts of the country. Indignant at these symptoms of insubordination, Gessler resolved to offer them a yet more atrocious affront. On St. James's day in the year 1307, some of the inhabitants of Altorf, who were early abroad, discovered in the market-place of their town a hat conspicuously displayed on a lofty pole. Whilst they were debating among themselves what this strange apparition could mean, a herald advanced into the midst of them, and proclaimed with a loud voice, that all and each of the inhabitants of Uri and of Schwyz were required and commanded to pay to the said hat the same honour, respect, and reverence, as they would pay to the Emperor's Majesty being personally present, and this under pain of forfeiting goods and gear, and of punishment in life and limb. About the same time Gessler happened to be riding through the country, and seeing a newly-built house, enquired of its proprietor, one Werner of Stauffach, to whom it belonged? The Swiss, suspecting from his manner that all was not well, answered evasively, "It belongs to my lord the Emperor, and to your honour; and is my fief." "I will not that peasants build houses without my permission," was the stern reply; "nor that they should live independently as if they were lords." Werner, a shrewd, cautious man, communicated these expressions to his wife, who advised him at once to take counsel with the other malcontents, and endeavour to devise some plan for liberating their country from the slavery under which it groaned. Full of these thoughts, Werner consulted with Walter Fürst, a man of reputation and influence in Uri, who introduced him to his friend Arnold of Melcthal: and the three made a solemn compact that they would endeavour to raise a force sufficient to drive the tyrannical Austrian from the land. Their place of meeting was on the Rütli, a small meadow on the banks of the lake of Lucerne, where they swore to observe the conditions of this covenant.

There was an honest, courageous peasant in Uri, who was also a party to the convention. This man, William Tell by name,

proceeded on the 18th of November to Altorf, and several times passed before the hat without making the required obeisance. This was soon reported to Gessler, who sent for the recusant, and demanded why he had disobeyed the proclamation. "My lord," said Tell, "what I have done has been done in ignorance. Pardon me, I pray thee. Had I more wit, I should not be called Tell."* Being celebrated for his skill in shooting with the cross-bow, Tell was commanded by the governor, as a punishment for his insubordination, to shoot an apple from the head of his own son, who was placed at a considerable distance. The Swiss declared that he would rather die. "Die then, thou shalt," exclaimed the tyrant, "both thou and thy child, if thou refusest to obey me." Tell, seeing that there was no way of escape, prepared his bow : the child, who was only six years of age, himself held the apple on his head ; the bolt whizzed through the air and split the apple without injuring the boy. Shouts of applause burst from the crowd at this display of skill, and even Gessler himself praised Tell's dexterity. "But tell me," he added, "why thou hast yet another bolt in thy belt." Tell would have excused himself by saying that it was the ordinary custom of archers ; but Gessler, seeing him confused, pressed him to disclose the real reason, promising that whatever he might say, his life should be safe. "Well then," replied William Tell, "I will speak the truth—If I had slain my son, the second arrow should have pierced thy heart." "I promised thee thy life," replied Gessler, "but since thou art thus evil disposed towards me, I will send thee to a place where thou shalt never see sun or moon more." He then commanded Tell to be bound and thrown into a boat, which was to convey him to the castle of Küssnacht, Gessler himself accompanying his prisoner. As the boat proceeded on her course, one of those tremendous squalls, to which the Swiss lakes are liable, suddenly arose and rendered the little vessel unmanageable. At this crisis one of the attendants, remembering that Tell was an experienced boatman, implored Gessler to give him the helm. This request being granted, Tell seized the tiller and steered the boat in safety towards the shore ; but as it neared a flat rock (which now bears the name of "Tell's Flat"), the prisoner suddenly snatched his cross-bow, and leaping ashore pushed back the boat with his foot, leaving Gessler and his

* In the Swiss dialect "tell" has the same signification as "toll," *mad*.

attendants to extricate themselves from the danger as best they might. He himself ran to the high road which leads from Art to Küssnacht, and concealed himself in a hollow among the trees. Gessler, having landed with difficulty at Brunnen, proceeded in search of Tell, who, watching his opportunity, took a steady aim at the tyrant from his place of concealment and sent an arrow through his heart. On receiving intelligence of their oppressor's death, the Swiss immediately resolved to make themselves masters of the strong fortresses of Sarnen and Rotzberg.

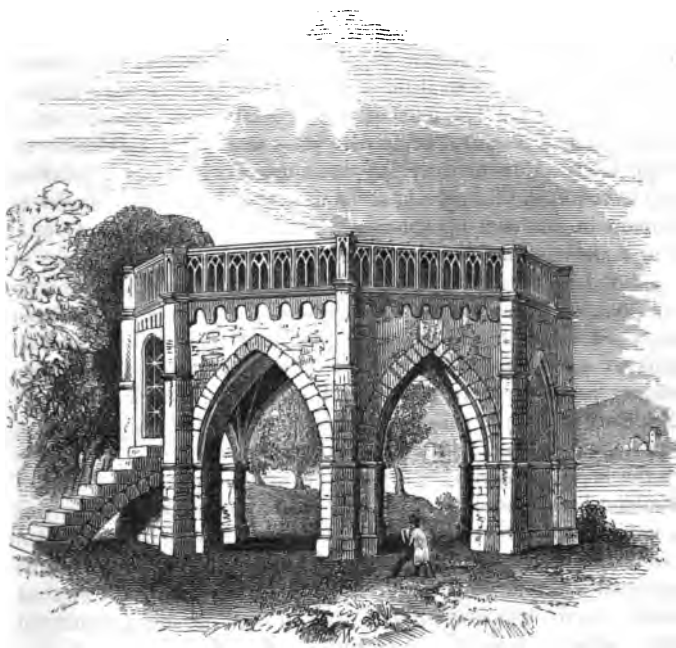
Among the confederates was a young man who had long been on terms of intimacy with a female servant in the castle of Rotzberg. At midnight a rope was lowered from this maiden's window for the purpose of admitting her lover; but great was her surprise and horror when not one, but twenty Swiss, sprang into her chamber; and with little noise and no bloodshed, made themselves masters of the castle.

On the following morning (January 1st, 1308), twenty Swiss, each with a dagger concealed in his bosom, entered the castle of Sarnen under pretence of offering a new year's present to the governor: but no sooner were they all within, than they displayed their weapons, and opening the gates admitted thirty of their companions who had lain concealed in an alder grove in the neighbourhood. The garrison offered no resistance, but quietly abandoned the place. As soon as these exploits were known, the men of Uri levelled to the ground the newly-built fortress of Zwing-Uri, and drove the whole of the Austrian force across the frontier. On the 6th of January the Swiss confederacy was solemnly formed at Brunnen, the members pledging themselves to defend the liberties of their country, as far as this could be done consistently with their duty to the Emperor. This confederacy, with certain modifications, has lasted for more than five hundred years.

CHAPTER XXVI.

HENRY VII., OF LUXEMBOURG.

From A.D. 1308 to 1313.



The Königs-Stuhl, at Rense on the Rhine.

As soon as the death of Albert was known, Philip IV. of France (surnamed le Bel, *the handsome*) claimed the imperial crown on behalf of his brother Charles; but his pretensions were at once rejected by the electors. Still less were they inclined to choose another prince of the house of Habsburg; for Albert had taught them that a sovereign who possessed extensive hereditary dominions of his own was not likely to be a very conscientious respecter of those rights which his independent resources gave him the means of violating. They determined therefore to look around them for some knight of high military

reputation, but small possessions: and in order to conciliate the favour of the Holy See, agreed that the election should fall on him who obtained the greatest number of votes among the spiritual electors. It happened at this time that the city of Trèves was on terms of close friendship and alliance with its neighbour Count Henry of Luxembourg, an instance of amity not very common in those disturbed days. The family castle of Luxembourg (or Lützel Burg, the *little fortress*) lay embosomed in deep forests, little known to the world in general, but famous in its own neighbourhood for the wild legends which were related of its possessors. The founder of the family had brought home to his castle a beautiful bride who bore him many children; the only interruption to their happiness was a mysterious stipulation of the countess, that once in seven days she should be allowed to remain in her own apartments without being seen by any one. For some years the count restrained his curiosity, but at last in an evil hour he watched her narrowly, and found that his wife was one of those water-demons called Nixies, who every seven days are compelled to resume the form of a fish. The descendants of this ill-assorted pair are often mentioned in German history as engaged in disputes with the neighbouring house of Brabant, and at the period of which we are now speaking, Henry, the reigning count, had made an alliance with the city of Trèves in the hope of recovering certain possessions which the Count of Brabant had wrested from his father. His brother Baldwin was archbishop of Trèves, and Peter Aichspalter (who had once been his body physician) filled the see of Mentz, so that of the three spiritual electors only the archbishop of Cologne voted against him; and the temporal princes, true to their promise, confirmed the election. Few of the German sovereigns have done such credit to the choice of the electors as Henry VII.; from the moment of his ascending the throne he took Charlemagne, Barbarossa, and Frederick II. for his models; the mean selfish policy of his predecessors was entirely discarded, and instead of aiming at the aggrandizement of his hereditary dominions, he thought only how he could best strengthen and consolidate the empire. Being fully aware of his present weakness in Germany amidst a crowd of ambitious nobles, each of whom sought only his own interest, he resolved on first gaining for himself a glorious name abroad by freeing Italy from French usurpation, and then returning to Germany, he would strain every nerve to render the

empire as united as it had been under the Hohenstaufen dynasty. The Italians were themselves weary of French domination; and the Pope, who resided at Avignon under the protection of Philip, wished to be something more than a mere puppet in the hands of his powerful ally. But before the expedition into Italy could be undertaken, affairs nearer home required his immediate attention. Bohemia, where Henry of Carinthia had been elected king in defiance of the late Emperor Albert, was re-annexed to the German crown by the marriage of Henry VII.'s son John, a youth of fourteen, to Elizabeth, second sister of the last native Bohemian sovereign, the people zealously uniting to expel the usurper and his Carinthians from their country. The murderers of the late emperor were placed under the ban of the empire, and an alliance formed with his two sons Frederick and Leopold. The Swiss cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden were declared to be independent of Austria, as they had always been before the ill-advised attempt of Albert to annex them to his hereditary dominions. In the year 1310 Henry crossed the Alps. The Ghibellines of Italy crowded to his standard, and amongst them Dante, the great Florentine poet, who has celebrated Henry in his immortal verses. But in spite of their remonstrances, Henry lingered too long in northern Italy. Having made himself master of the principal Lombard cities, he went into winter quarters at Genoa in 1311, where the Empress Margaret died. Here, or as seems more probable at Pavia, an Augustine monk entered whilst he was at table, and throwing himself at the king's feet, prayed for mercy: this monk was Prince John, the assassin of the Emperor Albert. Henry drove the murderer indignantly from his presence. Meanwhile Robert, King of Naples, taking advantage of his enemy's tardiness, had sent a considerable force to Rome. On receiving intelligence of this movement, Henry marched southwards at the head of only 2000 men, and attempted to carry the Capitol by assault, but was repulsed with terrible slaughter. To one of his knights who bemoaned this disaster he angrily replied, "Go home to thy mother, coward!" and endeavoured to repair the calamity by making himself master of St. Peter's church; but here too he was unsuccessful, and was obliged to celebrate the ceremony of his coronation in the church of St. John Lateran, which was surrounded by his enemies, some of whose arrows fell on the high altar before which the Emperor knelt. Nothing now remained for him but to abandon Rome;

yet so little was Henry discouraged by these disasters that he made preparations in Sicily, Genoa, and Germany, for renewing the war on all sides. At the same time he became a suitor for the hand of Catherine of Habsburg, daughter of the late Emperor, and sent his son, John of Bohemia, to bring the bride and a large army into Italy. But in the midst of all these anticipations his course was prematurely cut short by poison, which a monk administered to him in the sacrament of the Lord's supper. As soon as this treachery was discovered, he exclaimed, "In the cup of life thou hast offered me death, but fly, save thyself before my followers arrest thee." It is said that he might have been saved if he would have consented to employ the usual remedies, but his superstitious piety revolted from disgorging the sacred elements, and he died at Buonevento on the 24th of August, 1313. His destined bride arrived at Pisa just in time to receive his corpse; she was afterwards compelled to marry John, son of the king of Naples, and died in a few years of a broken heart.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XXVI.

Proclamation of Henry VII.—Henry was proclaimed at the Königsstuhl (king's throne), a small building at Rense, near Braubach, on the left bank of the Rhine, where subsequently emperors were frequently elected and dethroned. The situation was chosen from its vicinity to the dominions of the four Rhenish electors, Mentz, Cologne, Trèves, and the Count Palatine, all of whom possessed towns in the immediate neighbourhood. The building (which was destroyed in 1807 and rebuilt after the original model in 1843) is of an octagon form supported by pillars, with seven stone seats round the sides for the electors, and one in the centre for the emperor.

CHAPTER XXVII.

LEWIS OF BAVARIA AND FREDERICK OF AUSTRIA, JOINT EMPERORS.

From A.D. 1313 to 1347.



Lewis the Bavarian in his imperial robes.

AFTER Henry's death, the empire was again distracted by the Guelphic and Ghibelline factions; the latter party choosing Lewis of Bavaria, the former, Duke Frederick of Austria, surnamed, from his personal beauty, Frederick the Fair. The contest

between the two candidates for the imperial throne continued until the year 1322, when a battle was fought at Mühldorf, near Salzburg, where Frederick, without waiting for the succours which his brother was bringing up, rashly attacked the enemy. The struggle was desperate, for both parties knew that the imperial crown was the prize for which they fought. Towards the close of the day another army was seen in the distance advancing rapidly towards the spot where the Bohemians were closely engaged with the Hungarians. Frederick falling into an error similar to that of Napoleon at the battle of Waterloo, would not believe that the fresh army was not the detachment of his brother Leopold, until it was too late to repair his mistake, and the Austrians and Hungarians, attacked on all sides, were mown down like grass. The bravest of the Austrian nobility fell in this murderous engagement: of one family alone twenty-three knights lay dead on the field. Frederick himself was taken prisoner. The army which thus decided the fate of the day turned out to be a force commanded by Seyfried Schweppermann, a citizen of Nürnberg, who had deceived the enemy by causing the standards of Habsburg to be displayed in front of his line. Lewis (who was not personally present in the field) acknowledged that he was indebted for victory to this courageous citizen; and when a basket of eggs, the only provision that could be procured, was divided among the officers after the battle, he presented two to Schweppermann, with the words, "An egg for each man's share, to worthy Schweppermann a pair."* These words were engraved on Schweppermann's tomb, and an egg was ever afterwards borne in the escutcheon of his family.

Frederick was received by the conqueror with the taunting words, "Sir cousin, you are welcome," and sent a prisoner to Trausnitz, in the Upper Palatinate. But brilliant as this victory was, Lewis had other enemies to encounter more powerful than those whom he had overcome. The following year he was cited to plead before the Pope at Avignon; and on his refusal to appear, the whole empire was placed under an interdict. But Lewis found friends and supporters in the Franciscan friars or Minorites (*Fratres minores*), as they modestly termed themselves; who warmly defended him in their sermons and writings, and in

* "Jedem ein Ei, dem frommen Schweppermann zwei."

defiance of the papal interdict, provided for the celebration of divine service within his dominions. On the other hand, the Pope was zealously supported by the King of France. Lewis now visited Frederick in his prison, reminded him of their youthful friendship, spoke of their duty to the empire, and at length persuaded the well-meaning but somewhat silly prince to consent that the imperial authority should be divided between them, each bearing the title of Roman King and Augustus. Their signatures were to change places every day, so that one might not seem in any respect to take precedence of the other, and for this purpose each had a seal engraved, on which the name of his colleague was placed above his own. Having made these arrangements, Lewis, in 1327, proceeded into Italy, assumed the iron crown at Milan, pronounced the ban of the empire against the King of Naples, and deposing the Pope, placed on the papal throne a Minorite monk, Nicholas V., by whom he was crowned at Rome. In the year 1330 Lewis became sole emperor by the death of his colleague; and in 1338 summoned a diet at Rense on the Rhine, where the electors pledged themselves to the following resolution, viz., "that the German Emperor was the highest power on earth, and dependent for his election on none but the princes of Germany." In Frankfort and other places, all the clergy who refused to acknowledge Lewis were deprived of their cures. Even the Minorite monks, whose cause he had abandoned, forgot the recent treachery of their emperor, and wrote and preached for him as they had done at the beginning of his reign. But Lewis now committed an act which lowered him irretrievably in public estimation. Edward III. of England was engaged in a bloody war with France, and Lewis at first embraced his cause, but soon with unaccountable fickleness deserted the alliance, and attached himself to the French, the enemies of his country and of freedom, and sent his own son Lewis with an army to act against England. His family possessions were soon afterwards increased by the acquisition of Holland, which he inherited in right of his wife, Margaret, sister of the late Count William. He succeeded also in obtaining for his son the hand of Margaret, surnamed *Widemouth* (Maultasch), and thus added the Tyrol to his other dominions. But the only effect of this aggrandizement was to increase the number of his enemies, who at length prevailed on the electors to set him aside.

and place on the throne Charles, son of the King of Bohemia. The poor old emperor soon afterwards died suddenly during a boar hunt, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by his rival Charles.



Lewis the Bavarian. 1347.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XXVII.

The Franciscans.—The Franciscan order of Minorites, or, as they were still more modestly designated in Germany, the “Nobody Brethren” (Nulbrüder), has produced many learned men, such as Bonaventura, Roger Bacon, and Duns Scotus, who distinguished himself by his defence of the immaculate concep-

tion against the Dominicans. His followers were called Scotists—their adversaries Thomists, from their leader, Thomas Aquinas. The Franciscans have been split into various distinct brotherhoods, among which the most remarkable is that of the Capuchins, founded by Matthew of Bassi in 1528, and professing to be what the Franciscans were at the first establishment of their order.

Excommunication of the Emperor Lewis.—Lewis was the last Emperor who suffered the sentence of excommunication. The papal bull ran thus:—"May the Almighty God cast Lewis down and give him into the hands of his enemies and pursuers! May he fall into an unforeseen snare! Cursed be his going out and his coming in! May the Lord smite him with folly and blindness! May heaven blast him with its lightning! May the wrath of God, and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, burn against him like fire in this world and the next! May the whole earth arm itself against him! May the deep open and swallow him up quick! May his name be clean forgotten, and his memory perish from among men! May all the elements oppose him! May his house be left desolate, and all his children be driven from their dwellings, and slain by his enemies before their father's eyes!"

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CHARLES IV.

From A.D. 1347 to 1378.



Günther von Schwartzburg. A.D. 1349.

PHILIP of France and the Pope had given Germany a new Emperor, whom they intended to use as the instrument of their will. The great obstacles to their ambitious views were the war with England, and the dogged determination of the great Flemish cities, which had lately wrested important privileges from their

lords, and under James van Artevelde, a brewer of Ghent, had formed an alliance with England against France. Charles IV., the creature of the French papistical party, and in a great measure dependent on his father, who still lived, had no choice but to join the French. At the battle of Crecy his behaviour, according to some historians, was far from heroic, for he was among the first who fled, whilst his brave old father, King John of Bohemia, blind as he was, caused his horse to be led by two knights into the thickest of the fight, and fell covered with wounds. His shield came into the possession of Edward the Black Prince; and its motto, "Ich dien" (I serve), has been that of the Princes of Wales ever since. Probably Charles had little inclination to risk his life in a cause to which he could hardly have wished success. Nothing could be more opposite than the characters of Charles IV. and his predecessor. The first wish of Charles's heart was to add to the possessions and power of his own family, an object for the attainment of which he did not scruple to employ the most disgraceful means. But he had to contend with a party who, viewing him as a creature of the Pope, were not inclined to acquiesce quietly in his election. A majority of the electors therefore offered the crown to the King of England, but parliament very wisely interfered to prevent his acceptance of so perilous a gift. Their choice then fell on a brave warrior, Count Günther of Schwartzburg, who had distinguished himself in the Thuringian wars. They also persuaded the Poles, the ancient enemies of the House of Luxembourg, to join their league. Charles, on the other hand, having strengthened his party by an alliance with England, proceeded to rid himself of the rival King by bribing the physician of Günther to poison his master. One benefit the crafty policy of Charles conferred on the empire, which the straightforward opposition of his predecessors had failed to achieve—he put an end to the alliance between the Pope and France. In his youth he had lived much at the court of France and also at Avignon, and was in consequence well acquainted with the feelings which the King and the Pope entertained towards each other. The most anxious wish of the latter was to be delivered from his state of discreditable bondage; but the recollection of the Hohenstaufens, and of the tyranny which they had exercised over the Roman pontiffs of their times, made him cautious lest he should only exchange French for German domination, by putting himself under the protection of Charles. It

required therefore the greatest hypocrisy and the most untiring patience to accomplish this object. In pursuance of his plans, Charles crossed the Alps and was crowned at Rome, for the purpose of proving how lightly he esteemed the declaration of independence made by the electors when they established the "first electoral union," as it was called, at Rense; and even humbled himself so far as to enter the city in the character of a private individual, and to quit it on the very day of his coronation. In the absence of the Pope at Avignon, the Roman people had risen against the nobility and established a republic. Cola di Rienzi, its head, hastened to meet the emperor, in the hope that he would restore the ancient Roman empire; but Charles used the opportunity to seize Rienzi, and deliver him up to the Pope. Petrarch, the celebrated poet, entertained the same expectations from Charles as Dante had from Henry VII. for the liberty of his country; but the emperor contented himself with answering the poet's letters with politeness, and only laughed at his enthusiastic patriotism. He made no attempts to re-establish German influence in Italy, but allowed the princes of that country to purchase their independence. Thus, although he quitted Rome (1355) amidst the contemptuous laughter of the Italians, he was amply consoled by the consciousness that he had made considerable progress towards removing the fears of the Pope; and what was, if possible, still more agreeable to him, had filled his own coffers with gold. At length his patient manœuvring was crowned with success. In the year 1367 the Romans were surprised by the return of the Pope, Urban V., to his capital: Charles himself attended him, walking by his side in his imperial robes, and leading the mule on which the Pontiff rode. Urban, it is true, returned to his native country at the end of a year, but his example so encouraged his successor that he again transferred the papal chair to Rome; and as, after his death, there were two popes, one at Rome and the other at Avignon, the empire had little more to dread from papal encroachments. Charles now issued the famous "golden bull," by which the number of electors was definitively fixed at seven. This instrument, deriving its name from the knob of gold (*bullæ aurea*) in which its seal is enclosed, was drawn up in a diet at Nürnberg in 1356, and published on Christmas-day in the same year. It contains thirty chapters, in which the privileges of the Kings of Bohemia are defined, rules laid down for the election and coronation of the emperors, the cities restrained

from making any further encroachments on the rights of the nobles, and salutary regulations established for the levying and collection of taxes. Until the dissolution of the empire this bull was always considered the groundwork of the Germanic constitution. The three spiritual electors continued, as before, to be those of Mentz, Cologne, and Trèves. Of the temporal principalities, Bohemia was Charles's hereditary kingdom, Brandenburg was about to fall into his hands, and the remaining two, Saxe Wittenberg and the Palatinate of the Rhine, were comparatively weak. By the golden bull it was provided that each elector should be thenceforth in his own state sovereign and independent, and that no appeal should be made from his decisions. By this master-stroke of policy Charles attained two objects—he gave to his own family immense weight in the election of an emperor, and secured his hereditary dominions against future interference. The weak principalities of Saxe Wittenberg and the Palatinate (those “duodecimo princes,” as a shrewd German writer styles them) were allowed to remain on the list as being more manageable than the powerful electorates. Charles IV. has been called the step-father of the empire, but the father of Bohemia. His personal appearance betrayed his Bohemian origin, for he resembled his mother rather than his father, being short, but strongly built, with high cheek-bones and coal-black hair. The King of France having provided him, in his youth, with the best instructors, he spoke several languages, and was in most respects infinitely better informed than the other princes of his time. In 1348 he gave to his hereditary kingdom of Bohemia a constitution of the most liberal character. The beautiful city of Prague was built almost entirely under his auspices; architects, sculptors, and painters being encouraged by his patronage to reside there, and vying with each other in their exertions to adorn his capital. The baths at Carlsbad, it is said, were discovered by Charles, and named after him. In order to encourage and improve manufactures in Silesia he persuaded a number of Flemish weavers, at that time the best in the world, to come and settle there. He also founded a university at Prague, after the model of that of Paris, the first that ever existed in Germany. This example was soon followed by the Habsburgs and the Count Palatine of the Rhine, who established similar institutions at Vienna and Heidelberg. Universities were also founded by the spiritual princes at Cologne, Erfurt, and Würzburg. But while Charles was doing

so much for Bohemia, the German empire in general was miserably disorganized. Bands of robbers swarmed in all parts of the country, and the Emperor, after one or two feeble attempts to put them down, was content to let the cities form alliances among themselves for that purpose. In the towns generally a spirit of independence among the middling classes was making rapid strides; unfortunately their efforts were too insulated to be of lasting service; but they fought bravely and often successfully against the princes who oppressed them, or against the privileged families. Nor were the rights of the spiritual nobles uniformly respected. Urban V. had sent to Hildersheim, as bishop, his grand inquisitor, John Schadland, a man whose character for intolerance preceded him into Germany. But he had been accustomed to combat heresy only with the weapons of theological warfare, and was ill qualified to rule the turbulent subjects of a German bishopric. When he desired to see the library at Hildersheim the canons of the cathedral led him into a large vaulted gallery, the walls of which were furnished, not with book-cases, but with coats of mail and stands of arms arranged with great regularity. "Behold, my Lord," said they, "the books out of which we draw our arguments!" His successor wished to act with more vigour; but his measures excited the indignation of the people to such a degree that they actually hunted down all the priests in his diocese, paying the peasants a fixed price for every head of clergy brought in. The Emperor's anxious wish had always been that his son Wenzel, or Wenceslaus, should succeed him on the imperial throne. He was now old, and felt that no time was to be lost; in defiance therefore of his own golden bull, which strictly prohibited all bribery, he expended 700,000 florins in corrupting the electors, and thus secured his son's election. Charles died in 1378, on his return from France, whither he had gone for the purpose of establishing peace between that country and Germany.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XXVIII.

Literature and the Arts.—In addition to the Latin chronicles of the monks, this century produced several written in the German language; among which the most remarkable is the metrical chronicle of Ottocar of Horneck. Gunpowder was invented in the reign of Charles IV. by Berthold Schwartz, a monk of Frei-

burg in Breisgau, who was himself blown up by an unexpected explosion. The first powder-mill was erected at Lübeck in 1360, the first cannon cast for the town of Augsburg in 1372, and the first iron balls used by the Hanse Towns in 1387. This invention was destined to destroy the power of the nobility, by depriving them of the peculiar advantage which they previously derived from their arms.

The Universities.—Each of the universities founded in the fourteenth century was a corporation of masters and scholars, governed by its own laws and enjoying peculiar privileges.

The whole body of academics was divided into “nations” (as in the Scotch universities), each of which had its own officers. The Rector of the university was chosen by these nations collectively, the scholars enjoying an equal right of voting with the masters. All students were allowed to wander from one university to another, and not unfrequently they supported themselves on these excursions by begging. The course of instruction was divided into four faculties, of which the first three, Theology, Medicine, and Law, were termed sciences. Those who had completed their studies in any of these sciences were admitted to the degree of Doctor. The fourth faculty comprehended the liberal arts, seven in number, viz., Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Mathematics, Physics, Metaphysics, and Moral Philosophy. Proficients in these studies were termed Masters. The new lecture-rooms were soon crowded, not only by citizens, but by many of the young nobles. In Prague alone the number of students amounted, soon after the institution of the university, to 7000.

Bravery of the Germans.—Several troops of German auxiliaries served in the English army during the siege of Calais in 1347. An old chronicler tells us that one of these men, a Swiss from the Bernese Oberland, having accepted the challenge of a French knight to meet him in single combat, fell asleep whilst awaiting the arrival of his antagonist, and snored fearfully. This phlegmatic indifference to danger so astonished the Frenchman that he refused to encounter an adversary whom not even the anticipation of a bloody conflict could keep awake. Another German, Prince Henry of Holstein, who had also fought on the English side at Crecy, was so highly favoured by Edward III. as to excite the envy of his courtiers. “A mercenary soldier,” they said, “who was willing to shed his blood for strangers, could scarcely be called noble.” Finding that this and similar

taunts made little impression, they resolved to adopt more active measures of annoyance, and, taking the opportunity of his walking without arms in the court-yard of the Tower of London, suddenly let loose a large lion on the prince; who coolly walked up to the formidable intruder, and, setting his own hat on the beast's head, called out to his cowardly enemies, "Let the man who is more noble than I take off that hat."

The Black Death.—At the beginning of Charles's reign fearful signs in the heavens indicated, as men believed, the approach of some terrible event. An earthquake of unprecedented violence desolated Cyprus, Greece, Italy, and the Alpine valleys as far as Basle. In Carinthia thirty townships were laid in ruins. The air was thick and foetid, fiery meteors appeared in the sky at night, and a pillar of flame was seen by hundreds resting on the roof of the Pope's palace at Avignon. These horrors were almost immediately followed by a deadly pestilence. It seems to have originated in China and thence to have found its way across Asia into Europe. Like the plague, of which it was probably an unusually malignant type, it first manifested its presence in the human frame by excessive lassitude, followed with astonishing rapidity by swellings of the groin and armpits, which in a short time became large boils. But the next deadly symptoms of all were large black or deep-blue spots, which, in a great proportion of cases, showed themselves in different parts of the body; hence the pestilence was commonly called the "black death." Its effects on different constitutions were various: some became sleepy and stupid, and continued in a lethargic state until their death; others could rest neither day nor night; the tongue and throat were black, as if filled with coagulated blood, and they were tormented by an insatiable thirst. In addition to these symptoms, which were its characteristics in Asia, the disease in Europe attacked the lungs, which sent out a noisome breath, filling the whole air with infection. Medical aid was unavailing, nor could it indeed be easily obtained; for, as the disorder was undoubtedly contagious, not only physicians, but even the nearest and most affectionate relatives fled from the house of death, leaving the sick to expire alone and unassisted. Whole villages and towns were thus left without a single inhabitant, or even a domestic animal, for the plague was as fatal to dogs, cats, and swine as to the human race. It has been calculated that one-fourth of the population of Europe fell victims to this terrible

scourge. The Franciscans, or Minorites, numbered their dead, and found that they had lost 124,434—a proof both of the violence of the plague and the immense increase of their order since its first establishment. Women also formed themselves into societies for the purpose of attending on the sick and dying. These were called *Beguines*,* probably from the old Saxon word *began*, to serve. The nucleus of such societies had existed ever since the eleventh century, but they were called into more especial activity by the unhappy circumstances of the times. Thus far they acted on the purest and most Christian principles; but the superstition of the age being dissatisfied with the plain duties of practical piety, and deeming it necessary to propitiate the Deity by some extraordinary sacrifice, another sect arose, who believed that the infliction of tortures on their own persons would be the surest mode of turning aside the wrath of the Almighty. These fanatics were called the Flagellants, or Scourgers. The brotherhood had existed since the year 1260, but the horrors of the present eventful time called them into more vigorous action. The flame of superstition spread as if by magic. Hundreds of men, and even of boys, paraded the streets bearing heavy crosses and lashing their naked shoulders with scourges. They marched in regular parties, with banners, keeping time to the melody of a rude hymn, which they chanted in chorus.

The Pope viewed these irregular proceedings with alarm, especially as the brethren spoke freely of the necessity of reform in ecclesiastical affairs. A sentence of excommunication being issued against them, one of their leaders, who pretended to be the Messiah, was burnt at Erfurt. Whilst the plague was at its height the Germans thought to appease the wrath of God by a persecution of the Jews, who were accused of having occasioned it by poisoning the wells. Nothing could restrain the fury of the populace. The persecution began in Bern, where the magistrates themselves sanctioned it. In all the cities of the Rhine and Danube the Jews were cruelly massacred. At Strasburg two thousand of them were burnt on one pile. At length the plague began gradually to subside, and towards the end of the year 1349 ceased altogether.

* Societies under this name still exist in Belgium: but they are bound by no vows, their convents being merely a sort of almshouse, where decayed women of good character are provided with food and lodging. Their largest establishments are at Ghent and Bruges.

CHAPTER XXIX.

WENCESLAUS—RUPERT—JODOCUS—SIGISMUND.

From A.D. 1378 to 1437.



Castle Hall, Constance.

WENCESLAUS was in character and manners the reverse of his father. The Germans, about whom he gave himself little concern, thought him a fool: the Bohemians felt him to be a tyrant, and hated him because he trampled on their rights, and gave all the great offices of state to Germans: whilst the latter were indignant because he never once came into Germany, never held a diet, and made the confusion into which his own criminal negligence had thrown the empire, the subject of his daily jests. In Bohemia he committed acts of almost insane cruelty. On one occasion the nobles whom he had invited to an entertainment found three tents pitched, of different colours, black, white, and red. The king himself occupied the black tent, into which the

guests were marshalled one by one, and required to declare what possessions of the crown were in their occupation. Those who readily surrendered their lands were then ushered into the white and sumptuously feasted; while the recusants were hurried away to the red and beheaded by the common executioner. At another of his entertainments the guests beheld with dismay a man of ferocious appearance, who stood leaning on an axe, as if in expectation of some command from the King. "Wait until after dinner," said the tyrant to this grim functionary; "thou wilt have work enough then." The unfortunate visitors, who were persons of no less importance than the burgomaster and town council of Prague, were fain to laugh at this sharp jest, as the only means of saving their lives, and after eating and drinking with what appetite they might, to make all the concessions which their sovereign demanded. At table he was generally surrounded by a pack of bloodhounds, which in his drunken fits he would set on his guests, or even on his wife, who was repeatedly torn by the ferocious animals, as she lay in bed. Even the ministers of religion were sometimes exposed to the fury of his ungovernable temper. His second wife had a confessor named John of Nepomuk, from whom Wenceslaus had often tried to extort the secrets of the confessional, but the priest, faithful to his ordination vow, had always refused to gratify this unjustifiable curiosity. At length, wearied out by the importunities and threats of the tyrant, he boldly declared that he would rather die than commit so deadly a sin. "Sayest thou so, sir priest?" was the retort; "then by the heaven above us thou shalt have thy wish.—Bind this monk hand and foot and throw him into the Moldau." He was sainted in the Roman calendar, and became the patron of bridges. Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg, the second son of the late Emperor, fearing lest these continued extravagances should bring disgrace and ruin on their house, placed the person of his brother under restraint: but the cunning madman contrived to elude the vigilance of his keepers by plunging into the Moldau under pretence of bathing, and swimming to a boat rowed by a young girl named Susanna, he was conveyed safely to the opposite bank. Had Wenceslaus been a man of sense, no time could have been more favourable for consolidating and strengthening the empire. The power of Rome, hitherto so overwhelming, had been reduced almost to nothing by the election of two rival popes, one of whom resided at Rome, the other

at Avignon; whilst the temporal sovereigns whose crowns had often in former days depended on the papal will, were now called on to act as arbitrators between the two candidates for the throne of St. Peter. France, too, of all the European powers the most dangerous to Germany, whether as an ally or an enemy, had for the present sufficient occupation in her war with England. But Wenceslaus had neither ability nor inclination to take advantage of these circumstances. The beer of Prague, and the scenes of low sensuality which surrounded him, were more the objects of his regard than either the honour or the safety of the German empire. The incapacity of Wenceslaus became at length so evident to all eyes that the electors determined to set him aside; and in 1400 a majority of them chose the Count Palatine Rupert, a few voting for Frederick of Brunswick: but the chance of a dispute was removed by the assassination of the latter on his return from Frankfort, by the servants of the Archbishop of Mentz. The cities of Upper Germany, far from acquiescing in the new election, saw in it only an intrigue of the nobles against themselves, and offered their services to Wenceslaus to replace him on the imperial throne: but that indolent prince preferred remaining quietly in Bohemia, where he could indulge without restraint in the petty household tyranny which best suited his mean but cruel character. Among other mad pranks, he is said to have punished a cook who had sent up an ill-dressed capon, by roasting him on a spit before his own fire, and to have beheaded the public executioner, in order to give him an experimental acquaintance with the sufferings which he had so often inflicted on others. Of his epistolary talents there is a curious specimen still extant in the form of a letter to the citizens of Rotenburg, written in answer to their refusal to advance him 4000 florins. "To our unfaithful men of Rotenburg, who are disobedient unto the Empire. The devil began to shear a hog, and spake thus, 'Great cry and little wool.'—**REX.**"

Rupert, the new Emperor, was a man of courage and action, but being coldly supported even by the nobles who had elected him, possessed little more than the shadow of imperial power. An attempt which he made, in conjunction with Leopold of Austria, to force his way through Italy to Rome, ended in a disgraceful defeat at Brescia, where Leopold was taken prisoner. Rupert, returning to Germany, resided there until his death in 1411. Wenceslaus survived him, but made no attempt to regain

his rights. His brother Sigismund was now elected by one party, and Jodocus of Moravia by another. The two rival Popes had both been set aside by a council held at Pisa in 1409, and a new pontiff elected: but the others refused to resign, so that in the year 1411 Germany had three Emperors, and the Christian world witnessed the unedifying spectacle of three Popes, each claiming for himself the infallibility supposed to reside in the legitimate successor of St. Peter.

The difficulty however with regard to the empire was removed within a few months by the death of Jodocus, and Sigismund remained undisputed occupant of the imperial throne. Sigismund gave at his election a specimen of his arrogant character. "There is no prince in the empire," said he, "with whose merits I am so fully acquainted as with my own. I am surpassed by none—either in power or in the prudence with which I have ruled, whether in prosperity or adversity. Therefore do I, as Elector of Brandenburg, give my vote to Sigismund, King of Hungary, and will that he be elected King of Germany." Sigismund's character was an epitome of the dispositions of his immediate predecessors. Like Charles IV. he was crafty and politic, but resembled Wenceslaus in his love of sensual gratifications. Handsome, eloquent, and lively, he possessed no steadiness of purpose, seeming to act on the impulse of the moment, and with a view to present expediency, rather than on any settled plan. At the beginning of his reign, the great object of his ambition was to play the part of a reformer in church affairs. The spirit of the times was by no means unfavourable to such an attempt. In England the illustrious Wiclif had in the latter part of the fourteenth century promulgated doctrines which had spread far and wide on the continent: and many martyrs had proved the sincerity of their convictions by giving their bodies to be burned at the stake. In Augsburg alone two hundred persons were put to death as heretics. During the disgraceful contests of rival Popes, the papal see lost so much of its authority (each candidate being compelled to flatter the priesthood and the universities in order to strengthen his party) that an assembly of bishops and doctors presumed to set aside both the reigning Popes, and elect a new one. This pontiff, dying the year of his election, was succeeded by John XXIII., a man who had once been a pirate, and whose life was stained by the grossest and most revolting crimes: but the clergy were universally so corrupt that his character caused

little scandal ; one of them, Cardinal Peter d'Ailly, even declaring that none but a scoundrel could now rule the church. Sigismund, in furtherance of his favourite design, acted at first with sound policy and discretion ; he summoned a general council to meet at Constance, and in order to give its members the character of representatives of all Europe, he proclaimed that not merely the clergy, but distinguished laymen from different countries should assist at its deliberations ; the Emperor himself waiving the right of supremacy which the Romano-Germanic empire had hitherto assumed over other kingdoms, although its pretensions were little more than a name. But all these fair plans were ruined by his own want of self-control. During the sitting of the council Sigismund gave himself up entirely to low debauchery ; and the only effect of his condescension was to make himself the laughing-stock of the church, and give foreign nations encouragement to encroach still farther on the privileges of the empire.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XXIX.

Frederick von Hohenzollern.—In the year 1411 the Emperor Sigismund pledged the Mark of Brandenburg to his friend Frederick v. Hohenzollern, burgrave of Nuremberg, for 100,000 ducats, and shortly afterwards made it over to him entirely. The nobility of the Mark would not submit to this new master, and formed a confederacy against him ; but Frederick succeeded in taking their castles by means of a great cannon, then a novel engine of warfare. His posterity has continued to enjoy the inheritance ever since ; and he thus became the founder of the present royal house of Prussia.

Frederick, the new elector of Brandenburg, distinguished himself at the council of Constance by the part which he took in endeavouring to obtain a reformation of the abuses in the church. He was supported by most of the English and Germans present at the council, who were not, however, agreed as to how far they should go. The French, Italians, and Spaniards, on the contrary, wished to dispense with all discussions of this sort, and to confine their attention to the election of a pope. The English supported the Germans a long while, but at last joined the majority ; when the Germans were also obliged to yield, after drawing up a strongly-worded protest.

CHAPTER XXX.

SIGISMUND—THE MARTYRDOM OF JOHN HUSS AND JEROME OF PRAGUE.

A.D. 1414 and 1415.



Room in which the Council of Constance met.

THE council of Constance commenced its session on the 28th November, 1414. It had been decided that this assembly should consist of bishops, doctors of the universities, and temporal princes or their ambassadors; the secular power being represented by the emperor, all the electors, and a crowd of nobles, who appeared as the plenipotentiaries of foreign sovereigns. The spiritual representatives were 3 patriarchs, 33 cardinals, 47 archbishops, 145 bishops, 124 abbots, 1800 priests, 750 doctors, and many monks. Of the three rival popes John XXIII. alone came in person. In one of the rugged passes of the Alps his carriage was overturned in a snow-drift; and the peasants of the neighbourhood who ran to offer him assistance and receive his blessing, were astounded at hearing the Holy Father curse and swear at his attendants in a style of which a trooper would have been ashamed. Independently of those immediately engaged in the council, the number of persons whom curiosity or the love of gain attracted to Constance is reported to have been at least 150,000, among whom were mountebanks, buffoons, and women

of bad character in shoals. There were also actors brought from England who represented *mysteries*, or scenes from Scripture history, an exhibition which seems to have given the Germans the first taste for dramatic performances. The nations whose representatives appeared at Constance are thus described by a contemporary writer: "The Germans are enduring as well as impetuous, the French boastful and arrogant, the English prompt and sagacious, the Italians subtle and intriguing." The northern party (that is to say the Germans, French, and English) with the Emperor at their head, and supported by the talent of the French Cardinal d'Ailly, and of Gerson, the celebrated chancellor of the university of Paris, having carried a resolution that the votes should be taken according to nations (an arrangement which deprived the Italian cardinals and bishops of the weight which their suffrages would have possessed if the spiritual and temporal deputies had voted in separate bodies), now went a step farther, and declared that the council was superior to the popes, who were all called on to resign their usurped dignities. Gregory XII. submitted to this decree of the council, and became a simple cardinal. John, who after laying down his insignia had attempted to recover his rights by force, was condemned to imprisonment in the castle of Heidelberg, where he remained until the year 1418. The third pope, Benedict XIII., who was in Spain, continued to bid defiance to their proclamations. Having thus humbled the popes, the council of Constance proceeded to take cognizance of those heresies which had lately disturbed the peace of the church. The university of Prague had been celebrated ever since its establishment in 1348 for the learning and talent of its professors. Among these was John Huss, who had read the writings of Wiclif, which the marriage of Anne, the sister of Wenceslaus with Richard II. of England, had been the means of introducing into Bohemia. As early as the year 1401, Huss had maintained that the Pope was no greater than any other bishop, that useless holidays ought to be abolished, that the doctrine of purgatory had no foundation in Scripture, that confirmation and extreme unction were not sacraments, that auricular confession was a vain thing, that altars, priestly vestments, images and consecrated vessels were useless, and that prayer needed not be offered up in churches, for the whole earth being the Lord's any spot of it might be used as his temple. He also contended that the sacrament of the Lord's supper ought to be received in

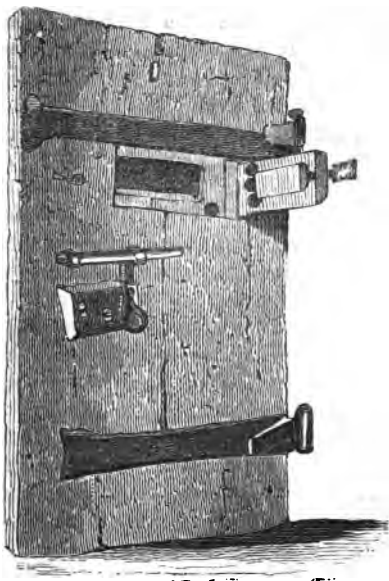
both kinds by the laity, and that the bread and wine in the Eucharist were not transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ, but that the real body and blood were received after a spiritual and mysterious fashion. In the dissemination of these doctrines he was assisted by his friend and pupil Jerome Faulfisch, commonly called Jerome of Prague; and, in spite of opposition, these two courageous men continued to lecture and preach at Prague and elsewhere, until they were summoned to appear before the council at Constance and give an account of their doctrine, a safe-conduct from the Emperor being at the same time promised to them. Immediately after the assembling of the council, the Bishops of Augsburg and Trent and the burgomaster of Constance were sent to require the attendance of Huss, who had already been some days in the city. As he entered the council-hall and respectfully saluted the company, one of the cardinals said, "Master Huss, we have manifold complaints against you, that you have taught and propagated gross, palpable, fearful errors against the orthodox church, for which cause we have summoned you before us that we may hear from your own mouth how the matter standeth." To this address Huss replied, "Reverend Father, rather would I die than avow myself guilty of one, much less of so many acts of heresy; wherefore I appear before you this day with the determination, whatever errors can be proved against me, to retract and abjure the same." Huss was then removed into an ante-chamber, and the council adjourned, but assembled again in the afternoon, and before night decided on arresting him: this resolution was announced to Huss by his enemy Philip Palitz, in the following words: "We have thee now, and verily I say unto thee, thou shalt not come out thence until thou hast paid the uttermost farthing." He was then thrown into a narrow and filthy dungeon, the pestilential air of which soon brought on a raging fever. In spite of repeated petitions he could not obtain a hearing until the 7th June, 1415, and even then was so often interrupted by the outcries of the assembly, that at last he said, "I had hoped that you would have heard me; but inasmuch as this clamour is raised to drown my voice, it remaineth only for me to be silent." The articles of accusation were then read; some of them were absurd enough, and even Huss himself could not forbear smiling at the charge brought against him of maintaining the existence of four Gods, but he was not allowed to reply to this or any other of the

articles. This mock enquiry lasted until the 6th of July, when Huss was condemned to the flames, the Emperor Sigismund pronouncing sentence in these words: "If John Huss will not abjure his heresies, we condemn him to be burnt; if he will abjure them, he shall nevertheless be forbidden again to preach or return to Bohemia. His followers, and especially Jerome, shall also be severely punished." Against this sentence the friends of Huss vehemently protested as inconsistent with the safe-conduct which the accused had received from the hands of the Emperor himself; but Sigismund coldly replied that such a safe-conduct could have no reference to a heretic, since neither the laws of God nor of man required that faith should be kept with one who obstinately opposed himself to the true belief. Day was just beginning to dawn on the morning of the 6th of July, when the Bishop of Riga, attended by four men-at-arms, entered the prison and commanded Huss to follow him to the cathedral, where he was detained a long time at the door, lest his presence should desecrate the mass which they were performing within. The church had been prepared for the occasion; on a magnificent throne sat the Emperor with the imperial sceptre in his hand and the crown on his head, surrounded by princes of the empire, cardinals, and bishops. In the midst of this assembly, on a high table, lay a surplice and other robes, which were to be employed in the ceremony of degrading Huss from the priesthood. The business of the day was opened by a bishop, who preached a long sermon from Romans vi. 1: "What shall we say then? Shall we continue in sin that grace may abound?" Another bishop then mounted the steps of the reading-desk and read from a paper the articles of accusation; but whenever Huss attempted to speak, he was silenced by cries of "Peace, heretic!" When however in conclusion he was charged with having treated the ban of the Pope with contempt, he raised his voice, exclaiming, "That is false; I publicly appealed to a higher tribunal, and came before this council to defend myself, trusting to the Emperor's promise that no evil should befall me:" here he fixed his eyes sternly on Sigismund, whose face was instantly covered with the blush of conscious guilt. The papal commissary, an old bald-headed man, then read the sentence by which John Huss was condemned to the flames; and the martyr, kneeling down, prayed that God would forgive his murderers. Seven bishops, who were to perform the ceremony of degradation, next

advanced, and put the robes on him, as if he were about to celebrate mass, placing at the same time the chalice in his hands. The first act of degradation was the taking from him the chalice with these words, "Thou accursed Judas! we take from thee this cup, wherein the blood of Christ is offered up for the forgiveness of sins, because thou hast abandoned the counsel of peace." To which Huss meekly replied, "I trust that to-day I shall drink of this cup in the kingdom of God." Then they took from him the priestly vestments one by one, pronouncing a curse as each portion was removed. When they were about to destroy his tonsure, a difference of opinion arose among the bishops, whether it should be done with a razor or scissors.—"See," said Huss, "they cannot even settle how I am to be mocked." These ceremonies being completed, the bishops recommended his soul to the devil; to which Huss rejoined—"And I commend it to my Lord Jesus Christ." He was then delivered over to the secular authorities, who placed on his head a paper cap, half an ell in height, ornamented in front with a representation of three devils, and the inscription—"This is an arch heretic." On arriving at the place of execution, where a stake had been already fixed in the ground, Huss fell on his knees, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, recited the 30th and 50th Psalms, often repeating the words, "Into thy hand I commend my spirit, for thou hast redeemed me, O Lord, thou God of truth." Many of the spectators who heard this exclaimed, "What this man's former doctrine may have been we know not, but surely these which we hear are holy words." Others said, "Why is not a confessor allowed him?" This last question was addressed more immediately to a priest who sat close to the stake, feasting his eyes on the preparations for execution. Starting as if from a dream, the churchman stared angrily at the crowd, and raising his voice to a pitch which made him distinctly audible even to those who stood farthest from the prisoner, shouted out, "Listen not to the heretic, there is no need to send him a confessor." The paper cap having fallen from Huss's head during his prayer, this man replaced it, saying, "Let the devils and the devil's servant burn together." The executioner then bound him with an old rusty chain and several cords: but the faggots had yet to be brought: and Huss stood chained to the stake whilst the attendants piled them around him. All being at length ready, and the executioner about to apply his

torch to the pile, the Duke of Bavaria rode up and promised the prisoner that his life should be spared, if he would recant his errors. To this Huss replied in a loud voice, "I call God to witness that I have never either taught or written those things with which false men have charged me; but in all my teaching I have sought only how best I might turn the people from their sins, and lead them to the kingdom of God. The truth which I have taught I am now ready to seal with my blood." The executioner then set fire to the pile, which was instantly enveloped in flames: and the martyr, standing in the midst, was distinctly heard to say, "O Christ, thou Son of God, have mercy upon me." This he repeated twice, but at the third attempt the flames caught his face, and only the words "Christ—Son of God" were distinguishable. His lips continued in movement a few seconds longer, and then he bowed his head and died. As the fire declined, the executioner and his men raked out his heart, which was still entire, from the midst of the ashes, and fixing it on a stake, held it in the flame until it was consumed. That nothing might remain to be used as a relic by his disciples in Bohemia, the Duke of Bavaria ordered his cloak, girdle, and other garments to be burnt, and the ashes of the whole pile, and even the soil on which it stood, to be scraped together and thrown into the Rhine. The putrid carcass of a mule was also buried on the spot, and the vulgar taught to believe that the soul of the arch heretic had parted from the body in a cloud of sulphur, leaving this unsavoury odour behind it. Thus died John Huss on his forty-second birth-day. His disciple, Jerome of Prague, had fled from Constance as soon as he found that there was no hope of saving his friend; but was soon arrested and thrown into prison, where the pangs of hunger and sickness so wrought upon his spirit that he recanted. When brought before the council, however, his courage returned, and he boldly declared that he would not retract a tittle of what he had taught. So heroic was his bearing, that Cardinal Poggio called him a second Cato. "I will not abjure my belief," continued Jerome, "for my sainted master hath with reason and justice written against your false doctrines, your shameless lives and evil practices. Slay me, if ye list, but in this belief will I live and die." When the executioner was proceeding to light the faggots behind him, he called out, "Light them before my face: for if I had been afraid of fire, I had not stood here this day." Having thus settled the question

of heresy, the council proceeded to the election of a Pope, and chose an Italian cardinal, Martin V., who soon succeeded in replacing the veil of thick darkness which had been in some measure withdrawn from the abuses of the church.



Door of Huss's Cell, Constance.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XXX.

Ignorance of the Emperor Sigismund.—At the opening of this council, Sigismund gave a singular proof of his ignorance and arrogance. In his first address to the members he used this expression, "Date operam, ut *illa nefanda* schisma eradicetur;" and when one of the cardinals ventured to remark that "Schisma" was of the neuter gender, the Emperor coolly replied, "Ego sum Rex Romanus, et super grammaticam"—I am a Roman King, and above the rules of grammar.

Wiclif.—John Wiclif was born about the year 1324, near Richmond in Yorkshire. He seems first to have distinguished himself, during his residence at the university of Oxford, by a controversy with the mendicant friars, who claimed the right of

appointment to all academical offices. In the year 1365 he published a defence of the king's refusal to pay the tribute commonly called "Peter's pence," a service which obtained for him the friendship and protection of the famous John of Gaunt, to whose influence he was more than once indebted for escape from the machinations of his enemies. On his return from Bruges, whither he had been sent by the king in 1374 to discuss the question of tribute with the Pope's legate, he published his "Trialogus," in which the abuses of the papacy are powerfully attacked. His views respecting the divine presence in the Eucharist seem not to have been very different from those of Luther. He held also that deadly sin in a bishop or priest absolved the people from their spiritual allegiance, and made the sacraments which he administered of none effect; that the possession of worldly goods was not permitted to the clergy; and that confession to a priest was unnecessary, provided men sincerely repented of their sins, and sought forgiveness from God. In the year 1384 he was suddenly seized with mortal sickness, whilst performing mass in his church at Lutterworth. Many years after Wiclif's death his bones were disinterred and burnt by his enemies. Wiclif's most important work was a translation of the Bible into English, which the authority of John of Gaunt prevented the bishops from suppressing. His doctrine was carried into Bohemia by one of his disciples, a nobleman, who had come to England in the suite of Richard II.'s first wife, Anne of Bohemia. The followers of Wiclif were called Lollards; a name derived from the old Flemish verb *lollen* or *lullen* * (to sing softly), and given origi-

* Hence the English word "lullaby."



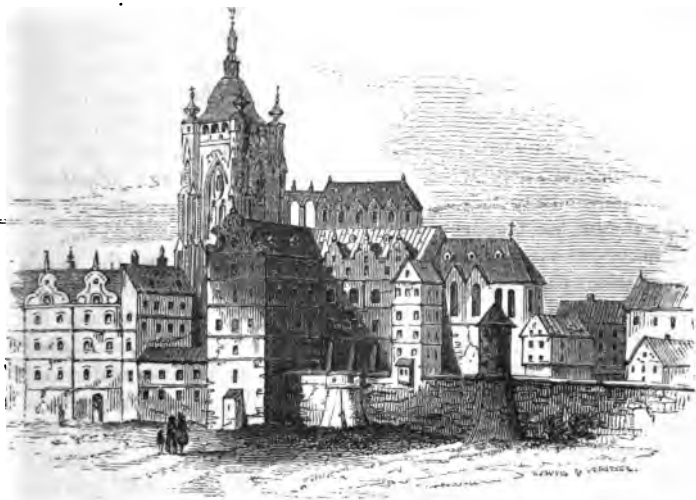
Pope's Chair—Council of Constance.

nally to a brotherhood established at Antwerp, for the purpose of visiting the sick and burying the dead. It seems subsequently to have been a common term of reproach for all who resisted the authority of Rome. One of these early reformers, Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, suffered death for his religious opinions in 1417.

CHAPTER XXXI.

SIGISMUND—THE HUSSITE WAR.

From A.D. 1418 to 1433.



Old Palace or Tower-Hall at Prague.

WHEN the ashes of John Huss were thrown into the Rhine, the rulers of the church believed that his name had perished with his body. But the people thought far otherwise. In Bohemia the spirit of his teaching had spread far and wide, and would probably have extended into Germany, had not its progress been checked by the estrangement between the two nations, which the unhappy partiality of Wenceslaus had produced some years before, and by the inability of Huss to preach in the German language. The states of Bohemia, having protested in strong terms against the

monstrous acts of the council, proceeded to pass a law, authorizing all landed proprietors to permit the preaching of Huss's doctrines on their estates. Many availed themselves of this permission, and gave public encouragement to the followers of the Martyr, who were now called Hussites and "brethren of the chalice," because their master had taught that the laity ought to receive the communion in both kinds. Pope Martin, immediately after the breaking up of the council, had issued a bull of excommunication against all who should adhere to the heretical doctrines of John Huss. This proceeding, which was intended to silence effectually those who were discontented with the abuses in the church, had a directly contrary effect. Scarcely had the bull reached Prague, when crowds of men were seen parading the streets in gloomy silence, or collected in groups discussing, in low murmurs, some subject of deep interest, whilst their fierce countenances and menacing gestures showed that they contemplated deeds of violence. They had not long to wait for an opportunity. At the court of Wenceslaus there lived a tried warrior, named John Ziska, who had fought with distinction in Poland, and was now chief favourite of the king. To this knight the priesthood were particularly hateful, because one of them had seduced and abandoned his favourite sister. As a true Bohemian, too, he detested the Germans. Since the execution of Huss, the man's demeanour had undergone a total change: his frank, blunt manner had given place to moody silence; or he would wander for hours about the palace with eyes fixed on the ground, muttering from time to time words which were but imperfectly understood by those who heard them. At length Wenceslaus himself enquired the cause. "They have burnt Huss," he replied, in a hollow tone, "and we have not yet avenged him." "I cannot help it," said the King; "you must try yourselves what you can do." These words, which were spoken jestingly, Ziska pretended to understand in sober earnest, and immediately called the Hussites to arms. This was going further than Wenceslaus had intended; and, terrified at the prospect of an insurrection, he ordered the citizens to bring all their weapons into the castle of Wisherad, where he was then residing. The injunction was literally obeyed, except that, instead of bringing their weapons in piles for the purpose of depositing them in the castle, the burghers appeared, armed to the teeth, and marching in military order, headed by Ziska, who thus addressed the king:—"Here we are, most illus-

trious and gracious sovereign, waiting to know against what enemy it is your royal will that we should march." The whole city was now in confusion. The Hussites, bearing a chalice as their standard, marched in procession through the streets. As they passed the town-hall, a stone was thrown at them: enraged at this affront, they burst into the council-chamber, and threw thirteen German counsellors out at the windows. Ziska at the same time gave orders for storming the house of a priest (probably the seducer of his sister), and hanging him up at his own door. Amidst these horrors the unfortunate King sat listening to the roar of the enraged multitude; and when it seemed to approach the castle, was seized with a fit of apoplexy, which put an end to his life on the 16th of August, 1418. His death removed the only restraint on the fury of the mob. They burst into convents and churches, dashed the images in pieces, and tore the clerical vestments into shreds, of which they made flags. Meanwhile a priest, named Matthias Toczénicza, had erected in the middle of one of the streets a sort of rude altar or table, and employed himself the whole of the day in administering the communion in both kinds to all who chose to receive it. But the more substantial burgesses of Prague soon recollected how much they had to lose, and how little prospect there was of any advantage adequate to the danger incurred. They therefore treated with the widow of Wenceslaus, Queen Sophia, who still held out in the castle of Wisherad, and sent a deputation to the Emperor to propose an accommodation: but Sigismund dismissed the envoys with insult, and swore a bloody revenge. Ziska, meanwhile, far from countenancing these pacific measures, had led out the more determined men of his party into the country, in order to raise the peasantry. He called on all who could only throw a stone or wield a staff, to unite and arm themselves against the enemies of God. This appeal was answered by the assembling of an immense crowd at Whitsuntide, 1419. They called themselves God's people, named the hill on which they assembled Mount Tabor, and pledged themselves to exterminate the Moabites and Amalekites; for by this name they designated the adherents of the Pope. Ziska was chosen their leader, and thenceforth assumed the title of "John Ziska of the chalice, Commander in the hope of God of the Taborites." At the head of an irregular rabble of men, women, and children, he marched through the land, plundering and burning churches and monasteries, and com-

mitting the most wanton aggressions. Among other acts of cruelty, he is said to have confined several priests in pitched barrells, and setting them on fire, to have exclaimed, as the unfortunate wretches screamed in the agonies of death, "Hark to my sister's bridal song!" The widow of Wenceslaus despatched a force to destroy the insurgent army before their numbers should increase; but Ziska ordered the women who followed his camp to take off their petticoats and veils, and throw them on the ground, by which manœuvre the feet of the horses became so entangled, that the insurgents gained an easy victory. In the month of June, 1420, the Emperor entered Prague, threw twenty-four Hussites into the river, and being reinforced by an army under Frederick of Austria, attacked with 100,000 men a high hill near the city, on which Ziska had entrenched himself. Here the passage of the army was for a long time disputed by three heroic Bohemian maidens, who refused to give way until they were borne down by numbers. After a long and fierce engagement the Germans were compelled to retire, leaving the enemy in possession of their camp. This success of the Taborites drew crowds to their standard. In all parts of the country, the peasants, armed with flails, which they wielded with terrible force and effect, were formed into companies, and constructed a temporary barricade wherever they halted, by chaining their waggons together. A fresh rabble also appeared in a mountain near Ledecz, which they named Mount Horeb, and themselves Horebites. In Moravia a sect arose, who professed to emulate the simplicity of Paradise, walking about stark naked, and committing such gross acts of folly as contributed not a little to bring the Hussite doctrines into contempt. In the year 1421 Ziska made a progress through the country, burning all the convents, and putting to death hundreds of these fanatics, who were known by the title of Adamites. The discipline of his army was cruelly severe. It was forbidden to quit the ranks, on pain of death, to plunder or burn without orders, or to appropriate even the smallest portion of booty before the general distribution. The same punishment was inflicted on liars, gamblers, and unchaste persons. Ziska, who had many years before lost an eye in the Polish wars, was this year reduced to total blindness by an accident which befell him as he was besieging the town of Raby. He had climbed a tree, the better to observe the enemy's operations, when a cannon-ball struck the branches, and forced some of the splinters

into his remaining eye. Yet he still commanded his army with as much courage and vigour as before, travelling in a carriage, which was always stationed near the great standard. His progress was like that of the destroying angel; wherever he marched his course might be tracked by heaps of dead bodies and the light of blazing towns; for if admittance into any place was refused him he slew and burnt without mercy. The man's constitution seems, like his heart, to have been of iron. Night and day he compelled his troops to march without taking any rest, until, wearied out and fainting with fatigue, they complained that darkness and light might be the same to him, as he was blind, but that it was not so with them. "What!" exclaimed he in affected surprise, "cannot you see? Light up a couple of villages, then." Meanwhile the moderate party in Prague, and the nobles of the country, scandalized and terrified at these disorders, and anxiously longing for peace, assembled a diet and agreed on the following articles:—

- “1. Freedom of preaching; 2. The communion in both kinds;
3. Poverty of the priests, and appropriation of all ecclesiastical property; 4. The extirpation of all sins, namely, those of a moral kind, as well as those more directly punishable by law.”

This last article seems to have been added for the sake of conciliating the Taborites. It was also proposed by the moderate party to offer the crown to Coribut, son of the Duke of Lithuania; but the wild Horebites and Taborites, who had been accustomed to live in their waggon fortresses in a sort of republican equality, had no inclination to become the subjects of a king, or allow the interference of nobles in their affairs. Finding how hopeless their cause was, the nobles abandoned the insurgents, and repaired to Iglau, where the emperor was then residing; whilst the burghers of Prague, seeing no prospect of assistance from any other quarter, were constrained to open their gates to Ziska, who entered the city in solemn procession, the host being borne before him in a golden pyx, and the whole population of Prague falling on their knees as it passed. In January, 1422, the emperor put his army in motion against Ziska, who marched out of Prague to meet him. Both parties acted with the greatest circumspection; but the Hussite army was at length surrounded by a skilful manœuvre of the imperialists. With desperate courage the Hussites cut their way by night through the enemy, a great number of whom were drowned in attempting to cross the river Sazewa, which was im-

perfectly frozen. Ziska attacked the survivors, overthrew them with great slaughter, and under the shadow of the imperial banners, which he had captured, conferred knighthood on the bravest of the Taborites. The emperor now endeavoured to gain over Ziska by presents and flattering messages; but the veteran leader remained inflexible, and soon afterwards died of the plague, in the month of October, 1424. On his death-bed he commanded that his body should be flayed after his decease, and a drum covered with the skin, that his followers might still hear as it were the voice of Ziska whenever they went forth to battle. The appearance of this extraordinary man was as remarkable as his actions. A bald bullet head, seamed with a deep crooked furrow across the brow, surmounted a pair of shoulders of preposterous breadth as compared with the shortness of his legs and body; whilst an expression of fierceness was given to the face by a nose like the beak of an eagle, and a fiery red moustache on the upper lip. Many years after his death, when the Emperor Ferdinand I. visited his burial-place at Cyazlow, and saw the massive iron mace which was Ziska's favourite weapon, he is said to have recoiled in horror, exclaiming, "How terrible must this man have been in life, when even after death the sight of his arms can inspire such dread!" After Ziska's death the majority of the Horebites chose Procopius Holy for their leader, whilst the minority, styling themselves "Ziska's orphans," vowed never again to submit to the rule of mortal man, or sleep under a roof. Pope Martin V. published a crusade against them, and sent Henry Beaufort, Cardinal of Winchester, to rouse the Germans. But in the year 1431 the imperial army was totally and disgracefully defeated by the Hussites, all their artillery and baggage falling into the hands of the enemy. Sigismund now offered them the right hand of fellowship, but his proposals being received coldly, he left the prosecution of the affair to the council which had lately assembled at Bâsle. To this council the Bohemians were invited, and on the 9th July, 1433, three hundred of them entered the city on horseback, where they were received with all honour, and the four articles of Prague conceded to them under certain modifications: the Bohemians consenting to receive Sigismund as their king, and he on his part engaging to procure the sanction of the Pope to the establishment of their national religion in Bohemia. Still the Taborites and "Orphans" were discontented, but were finally overthrown in a

tremendous battle near Prague on the 20th May, 1434. In the year 1438 the emperor died, and with him ended the Luxembourg dynasty.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XXXI.

The Reformers of Prague.—The support which the Bohemian reformers received from Wenceslaus was the result of avarice rather than of religious conviction. Large sums of money had been withdrawn from the kingdom for the purchase of indulgences (warrants for remission of sin), which the Pope freely promised to all who were willing to pay for them. To the Archbishop of Prague, who urged the necessity of checking the heretical proceedings of Huss and his disciples, Wenceslaus bluntly replied, "What, kill the goose * that lays golden eggs! it were a better deed to wring the necks of yon capons who are crowing and cackling about us:" a reply which seems to have been vehemently applauded by the citizens, who had just witnessed the disgraceful spectacle of an indulgence-monger dragged by Jerome of Prague out of a wine-house, where he had been drinking in company with two women of the town.

* In the Bohemian language "Huss" signifies "goose," and "Luther" "swan." Hence the prophecy ascribed to the Bohemian reformer:—"Ye are now roasting a goose, but a hundred years hence ye will have to deal with a swan."

CHAPTER XXXII.

ALBERT II.—FREDERICK III.

From A.D. 1438 to 1493.



Investiture of Duke John of Bavaria, A.D. 1417.

SIGISMUND's son-in-law, Albert, was elevated by the electors in 1438 to the throne of Germany, which from that period to the dissolution of the empire continued to be filled in an almost uninterrupted succession by princes of the house of Austria. After a short reign of hardly two years Albert died, universally honoured and regretted, on his return from an expedition against the Turks in Hungary. Shortly after his death the Empress Elizabeth bore a son named Ladislaus, who was placed under the guardianship of his cousin, Frederick of Styria, a prince of whom little was known except that he had once made a pilgrimage to the holy sepulchre and roamed about among the mountains of Palestine. Being, however, the eldest representative of the mighty house of Habsburg, it was deemed expedient to elect him emperor. A short time was sufficient to show how injudicious the choice had been.

It was not until after eleven weeks' deliberation that Frederick consented to accept the imperial crown. A man of quiet, indolent, harmless character, he might have vegetated in a cloister without discredit, or fulfilled unblameably the limited duties of a citizen; but as an emperor he was not only ridiculous, but mischievous. His whole time was spent in the study of astrology, the cultivation of his garden, and the scholastic amusement of capping verses.* Yet this incapable being was destined to reign over the empire for fifty-three years, at a time when the affairs both of church and state required a vigorous and steady hand at the helm. During the long peace which followed his election the empire had indeed time to undergo some improvements in its internal machinery; but the constant struggles between the spiritual and temporal powers, and the disputes of princes, great and small, were exhausting the energies of the whole body, and rendering it incapable of exertion.

The council of Bâle still continued its session. After settling the Bohemian question, it was debated whether something might not be done towards reforming the more crying abuses of the church; for the example of the Hussites had warned the assembled fathers that unless some change were made, discontent would probably spread itself through the empire. They therefore took measures to restrain the profligacy of the clergy, the desecration of churches by wakes and fairs, and some of the more notorious acts of corruption on the part of the papal see. These resolutions of the council were confirmed by the diet of Mentz in 1439; but the Pope refusing to ratify them, the council superseded him, and elected Felix V. Had all this happened in the days of the Hohenstaufens, the Emperor would probably have profited by such a beginning; "but," to use the language of an excellent German historian, "the imperial crown had now become a night-cap;" and while Frederick went dozing on, Rome bade defiance to public opinion. At his first diet at Frankfort-on-the-Main Frederick had solemnly crowned with laurel an Italian poet

* On the covers of his books and almost every piece of furniture were the letters A. E. I. O. U., a riddle on which men exercised their ingenuity in vain during the Emperor's lifetime. After his death the explanation was found among his papers in his own handwriting:—

Austriæ Est Imperare Orbi Universo.
Alles Erdreich Ist Oesterreich Unterthan.
The whole world is subject to Austria.

named Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who had acted as secretary to the council of Bâle, and been commissioned by them to treat with the Emperor. Entering into Frederick's service as private secretary, he was sent to Pope Eugenius IV., with a proposal that he should submit himself to the decision of the council. But the crafty Italian again changed masters, became a priest, and wrote both against the council and the Emperor. Caspar Schlick, his ancient friend, seconded his arguments at the imperial court; Frederick, naturally a bigot, soon took the part of the Pope; and the council, wearied out, at length gave up the contest, with the exception of the temporal princes, who protested against a return to the abuses of the church, and sent George of Heimburg to remonstrate with the Pope. But while this rough envoy was lingering at Rome, and thinking, for lack of better argument, that he did good service in abusing the Pope, the wily Æneas Sylvius sent his emissaries into every part of Germany, and by dint of bribery overcame the feeble resistance of the council. Eugenius died soon afterwards, and his successor Nicholas V. concluded separately with each of the German princes, as he could gain them over, what is called the "concordat of Vienna," in which it was provided that "all the resolutions of the council of Bâle, in so far as they related to the circumscribing of papal privileges, should be null and void."

In Hungary the infant Ladislaus, son of the late Emperor, had been crowned by the German party; but a threatened invasion of the Turks rendering it necessary to have a man of action at the head of the government, the people chose Ladislaus of Poland, who was conquered and slain by the Turks at Varna soon after his election. In Bohemia the German Ladislaus was universally recognised as king, but the powers of government were exercised by the heads of two factions, Meinhard and Ptacek. After the death of the latter, George of Podiebrad, a brave warrior, became leader of the more popular party, surprised Prague, threw his rival into prison, and was made sole regent. In Austria, one Sitzinger, a native of Bavaria, exercised unlimited influence over the states:—thus in each of the hereditary dominions of the Emperor and his ward, the people were ruled with absolute authority by a power almost independent of the indolent Frederick and his young cousin. In 1452 the Emperor married the beautiful Eleanor of Portugal, who met him at Sienna in Italy; and after his coronation the marriage was cele-

brated with great pomp at Naples, the fountains of the city being made to run with wine, and tables spread for the entertainment of 30,000 guests. The following year the city of Constantinople was taken by Sultan Mohammed II., and the eastern empire destroyed. All Christendom was horror-struck at the intelligence of this disaster; Pope Nicholas proclaimed a crusade against the Turks, while Æneas Sylvius preached with fiery eloquence, and left no means untried to rouse the people. His chief instrument in this work was an Italian monk, named John Capistrano, who travelled through Bavaria, Bohemia, Silesia, and Hungary, accompanied by a German and Sclavonic interpreter, and preached the crusade in imitation of Peter the Hermit. The eloquence of this man, even diluted as it must have been by passing through the process of translation into another language, was so overpowering, that in many towns the people brought all their articles of luxury, rich dresses, carriages, cards and dice, into the marketplace, and burnt them amidst groans and lamentations. Portraits of the monk were exhibited with chains hanging out of his mouth, to represent the power of his eloquence over the people. In Silesia he preached furiously against the Jews, and all the Jews in the land were burnt. But all this fanaticism confined itself to acts of penance and persecution, none caring to face the enemy in the field. The defence of eastern Europe was therefore left to the Hungarians, who stormed Belgrade, and drove the Turks across the Danube. Ladislaus, King of Poland, dying in 1457, the people elevated Matthias Corvinus to the throne; whilst the Bohemians chose their brave leader, George of Podiebrad, to be their king. For these losses the Emperor was easily consoled by a present of 60,000 ducats from Matthias, and the promise of George to assist him against the rebellious people of Vienna. George of Bohemia died in 1471, and was succeeded by Ladislaus, King of Poland.

During the years occupied by these occurrences in Bohemia little or nothing had been done for the benefit or credit of the German empire. A diet assembled in 1466 at Ulm, and another in 1471 at Ratisbon, where a general armament against the Turks was proposed; but it had now become the custom to employ mercenary troops, and none of the princes were willing to pay them. Frederick, despised by all, and so poor that his horses were seized by a farrier, and kept as security for his bill, had now the additional misery of bodily suffering. An abscess in one of

his feet, occasioned by his constant habit of opening doors with a kick, had rendered amputation necessary, and as he lay solitary and in pain, he is said to have uttered the desponding exclamation, "better be a sound beggar than a sick Roman Emperor." He had, as we have seen, lost the rich inheritance of his house, Bohemia and Hungary; was contemptible as an Emperor, lightly esteemed even by his own vassals in Austria, and constantly threatened with invasion by the Turks. One hope alone remained, to marry his young son Maximilian to Mary, the only daughter and heiress of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, who had already distinguished himself as a warrior in a battle at Montlhéry, where the French were defeated by the Burgundians.

At a meeting of the two sovereigns at Trèves the hand of the young Burgundian princess was formally demanded by the Emperor on behalf of his son. But an unexpected obstacle arose: Charles wished to be recognised as King of Burgundy, whilst Frederick was anxious that at least the marriage should be solemnized before he gave his consent to such an assumption of dignity. This difference of opinion produced a misunderstanding which was aggravated by the intrigues of Louis XI. of France, and Frederick quitted Trèves in disgust. After the Duke's death, however, Mary succeeded in persuading the Netherlanders to seek an alliance with Maximilian, who joyfully obeyed the summons, and entered the city of Ghent clad in bright armour, with no covering on his head except a bridal circlet of gold, studded with precious stones, which was wreathed in his long fair hair. His affianced bride came out to meet him at the head of a gallant train of nobles and ladies, and falling on her knees by his side welcomed him with expressions of the tenderest affection. But the domestic happiness which had begun so auspiciously was destroyed by a lamentable accident. His beautiful wife, who had borne him a son and a daughter, died in 1482, in consequence of a fall from her horse, leaving Maximilian to struggle not only with the grief occasioned by her death, but with the fury of the discontented Netherlanders, who now considered themselves absolved from their allegiance. At Liège the citizens rose against their bishop, and admitted William de la Marck, generally called "the Wild Boar of Ardennes," into the city.* After putting

* Sir Walter Scott, in 'Quentin Durward,' has added greatly to the fearful interest of his story by mixing the events of this insurrection with those of the former, which occurred in the lifetime of Charles the Bold.

the bishop to death, this adventurer took possession of the place in the name of France, but was soon afterwards beheaded by Maximilian, who had recently concluded a treaty of peace with the French king. The Flemings, however, still refused to submit to a prince who neither understood nor valued their privileges. At Bruges the citizens, mistaking the evolutions of his mercenaries for an attack, displayed the thirty-two banners of their guilds, and marching to the market-place disarmed the troops, and took Maximilian prisoner. Even the Emperor was roused by this insult, and sent a German army into Flanders which speedily compelled the people of Bruges to release his son. During these events Matthias of Hungary had invaded Austria, and made himself master of Vienna, which was re-taken by the imperialists in 1490.

At length in the year 1493 Frederick ended his long and inglorious reign. He left Germany torn and weakened by the dissensions of rival factions; Italy partly republican, partly ruled by petty sovereigns; the Roman states misgoverned by Alexander VI.—one of the most profligate wretches that the world ever produced; the church unreformed, and the spirit of inquiry into her abuses apparently crushed. Frederick was the last Emperor who received the imperial crown from the hands of the Pope.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XXXII.

Charles of Burgundy.—The grandfather of Charles had been a prisoner at Constantinople, where he imbibed notions of magnificence, which he put into practice on his return to Burgundy. His son Philip followed his example; and both were outdone by Charles, whose court was the most brilliant in Europe. The boundless wealth of the Netherlands, then the great emporium of manufactures, provided him with inexhaustible funds for the gratification of his expensive inclinations. His court glittered with jewels, gold, and the richest productions of the Flemish loom. Brussels set the fashion of dress to all Europe. Instead of the simple garb of their ancestors, the men now wore hats with waving plumes, puffed sleeves and hose, and the women Turkish caps, with long veils hanging down behind. Theatrical representations and masques, or mummeries, formed a principal part of the amusements of this luxurious court. The Strasburg Chronicle contains a curious account of Charles's wedding feast

on the occasion of his marriage with Margaret of York, sister of Edward IV. of England, "Anno 1468; he held his marriage feast at Bruges; there was much costly pomp, and the dining hall was hung with cloth of gold. He and the bride wore golden robes. On the table stood fifty ships laden with roast meat, and by each ship a boat full of vegetables. Then came a lion, out of the jaws of which four singers sang harmoniously; then a griffin, out of which there flew a flock of birds; then a tower, from the windows whereof six bears growled a bass; and these were followed by wolves and he-goats with pipes and flutes, and lastly by asses, which sang deliciously. Then the apes danced a Moorish dance round the tower. Lastly there came a whale, out of which twelve wild men sprang and fought with one another. The dinner was every day set on table in 800 great silver dishes."

Invention of the Art of Printing.—The art of printing with moveable types was invented by John Guttenberg at Mentz, about the year 1440. Long before that period, however, wood plates had been used at Haarlem in Holland, for printing representations of saints, playing cards, and even short elementary school books. The first printed book bearing a date is an impression of the Psalms, which appeared in 1457; but others exist which are evidently the production of an earlier period. In conjunction with his partners, Fust and Schöffer, Guttenberg brought the art to such perfection that he was enabled in the year 1462 to publish a complete edition of the Latin Scriptures, which was sold for 30 gold florins the copy. Previously to the invention of printing the price had been from 400 to 500. The cause of this difference in value was not merely the rapidity with which copies were now produced, but also the saving effected by the cheapness of the material, linen paper, which was invented in 1318, and soon took the place of parchment. Among the earliest productions of the press are the satirical works of Ulrich von Hutten (who severely lashes the clergy in his 'Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum,' as well as his German verses), the 'Ship of Fools,' of Sebastian Brand, and the Shrovetide mummeries of Hans Sachs, the cobbler of Nürnberg; all satires more or less coarse on the follies of the age, and the ignorance and licentiousness of the priesthood. The famous Eulenspiegel, or German Joe Miller, was also published towards the end of the fifteenth century. The worthy whose name it bears (Till Eulenspiegel)

is supposed to have flourished (if he ever existed at all) at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and to have died at the time of the black pestilence. The work was originally written in low German, but has since been translated into most European languages. The monks, who foresaw the storm which this new art was destined to raise against them, endeavoured to prejudice the lower classes against it by representing it as an invention of the devil. Hence the well known legend of Dr. Faustus, in whose name we cannot fail to recognize that of Fust, the printer of Mentz.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

MAXIMILIAN I.

From A.D. 1493 to 1519.



George of Frundsberg.—Armour preserved in the Ambras Museum, Vienna.

MAXIMILIAN was in person such a hero as minstrels love to celebrate in their songs of chivalry; and his disposition was in many respects the counterpart of this fair exterior; cheerful,

lively, full of conversational talent and wit, he presented to the eye of the casual observer a striking contrast to his heavy, pedantic father. But those who studied human nature more deeply were forced to acknowledge that the same littleness of mind which had made Frederick contemptible was not unlikely to prevent his son from persevering in any great or comprehensive measures. To be the first knight at the tournament, the first hunter in the field, were distinctions much more gratifying to his taste than to acquire by slow and painful steps the character of a sage politician or an experienced general. In the Tyrol is still shown the steep precipice called the Martinswand (Wall of St. Martin), where he lost his way in pursuit of the chamois, and could neither advance nor descend, until, as the legend tells, an angel appeared and guided him back to the plain. At another time he exhibited himself to the citizens of Ulm, standing with one foot on the balustrade of the cathedral tower, and enjoyed the applause which this fool-hardy exploit drew from the crowd below. His memorandum book still exists, and exhibits a curious picture of his character, as well as of the times. There are sundry little notices of how such and such a fish was taken, and how it was dressed; how such and such a weapon was forged; what allowance the governor of a distant fortress required for his support; where a pretty story might be read, and so forth. He himself dictated a history of his life to his private secretary, under the allegorical title of the "White King." A metrical biography (*Theuerdank*, the *Adventurer*) was also written by Pfizing, of Nürnberg. But these are rather the records of a knight errant's romantic exploits, than chronicles of an imperial reign. From time to time, nevertheless, flashes of the old Hohenstaufen spirit blazed forth. He would march against the Turks, again incorporate Italy with the empire, chastise the insolence of France: in a word, act the part of a mighty German Emperor. But the first difficulty generally disgusted him; and his ambitious projects were abandoned as hastily as conceived. The only feasible means of improving his position he overlooked or neglected. Had he taken the part of the people, among whom his manners rendered him very popular, and furthered the cause of the Reformation, he might have found means of humbling the proud aristocracy of Germany, who trampled on the rights of the Emperor as well as on those of his subjects. It is true that some attempts were made to reform the political condition of the

Empire. A general peace was proclaimed, which each prince observed or not, as he thought fit: a supreme court of justice was instituted, but it wanted the power to enforce its decisions. A post-office was established, under the direction of the Count of Thurn and Taxis; but the badness of the roads rendered it almost useless. In order to obtain funds for the exigencies of the Empire, Maximilian prevailed on the states to grant a subsidy for four years, called the "common penny," which was a sort of property-tax of one penny in the thousand; but this contribution, insignificant as it appears, was very irregularly paid, and the Emperor remained as poor as ever. Even a subsidy for the defence of the Empire against the Turks was refused, on the plea that Italy, Burgundy, Switzerland, and the Netherlands contributed nothing. At a diet held at Worms in 1497, the old Archbishop of Mentz (the only electoral prince who appeared in person) complained bitterly of this lukewarmness. "Take heed," said he, "lest a stranger come upon you, who will rule us all with a rod, aye, and that of iron." It was, however, in this reign that the empire was first divided into circles. Germany was filled with electorates, dukedoms, earldoms, bishoprics, imperial cities, &c., which jealously insisted on their independence, though none of them separately was strong enough to maintain order. To remedy this state of things, a union of the different states had been effected in Swabia for the purpose of mutual protection. This example was now followed throughout the empire, which was divided into ten *circles*, each forming a union like that of Swabia. These circles were: Austria, Bavaria, Franconia, Swabia, Upper Rhine, Electoral Rhine, Burgundy, Westphalia, and Upper and Lower Saxony. Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia, Lusatia, and Prussia, were not included in this division. The Swiss confederacy had been incorporated with the circle of Swabia, but they refused to sanction this arrangement, separated themselves from the Empire, and overthrew the imperial forces at Schwaderloch. Peace was now concluded; and the Swiss confederation, to which they were allowed to annex Bâsle, Schaffhausen, and Appenzell, declared an independent power.

Many years were employed in struggles between the French and Germans for the possession of Upper Italy. Venice surrendered to the Emperor, but having again revolted, was attacked by George of Frundsberg, with a chosen body of German soldiers (*Landsknechten*, Lansquenets, a sort of mercenaries, who served

on foot and were at that time in much repute). The Venetian commander had invited a great number of ladies to witness what he supposed would be the certain defeat of the Germans; but to his unspeakable mortification not only was his large army beaten by an insignificant force, but the fair Venetians themselves taken prisoners. In 1516 Maximilian endeavoured to raise forces for a Turkish war. But a mightier contest was at hand. "We must fight," wrote Ulrich von Hutten, "*not against the Turks, but against the Pope.*"

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XXXIII.


Battle of the Spurs.—In the year 1513 the Emperor renounced his alliance with the King of France, and joining Henry VIII. of England defeated the French near Terouenne. This engagement has been called the Battle of the Spurs, from the haste with which the French knights fled from the field.

Tribunal of the Imperial Chamber—(Reichskammergericht).—This court was established by Maximilian I., in the year 1495, for the purpose of settling disputes among the nobles, and administering justice generally throughout the Empire. The chamber consisted of a president appointed by the Emperor and sixteen judges, half of whom were nobles and the other half lawyers. All these functionaries were chosen by the Emperor out of a list presented to him by the States, and held their offices for life. The first sessions of the imperial chamber were held at Frankfort on the Main, and subsequently in succession at Worms, Nürnberg, Augsburg, Ratisbon, and Wetzlar. This court took cognizance of all questions of civil right between the states of the Empire, and its judgment was without appeal. There was also another tribunal termed the Aulic Council (Reichshofrath), which sat at the imperial residence, and decided questions immediately affecting the interest or honour of the crown, or the hereditary dominions of the Emperor. This council, until the reign of Maximilian I., was nothing more than a court of appeal for the Duchy of Austria. As its functions ceased on the demise of the crown, a fresh appointment was always made by the new Emperor.

Maximilian becomes a candidate for the papal throne.—The warlike character of Pope Julius II. may perhaps have suggested to Maximilian the extraordinary idea of himself becoming a candidate for the papacy. A soldier, he would naturally suppose,

might as reasonably become a pope as a pope a soldier. That he once had such an intention, although he never followed it up, is clear, from a letter of his to the Minister Lichtenstein. "And forasmuch as Pope Julius hath lately been sick unto death, and all men at Rome did think that he would have departed : therefore have we resolved within ourselves to follow up, as far as may be, the plan on which we have before touched, and to deal in such sort as we may attain unto the said popedom : and thereupon have we now proposed the said matter unto Cardinal Adriano (the which was long time with us in Germany). The same doth advise us heartily thereunto, and thinketh there will be no lack of Cardinals, and at the hearing thereof hath wept for joy. But inasmuch as such a matter may not be brought about without a handsome sum of money, we have thought good to disclose our plan, when necessity requireth it, unto the cardinals ; and hereby promise to aid them and other our helpers in this matter to the extent of thrice a hundred thousand ducats." Indeed Julius himself remarked that he should have been emperor, and that Maximilian should have been pope. Maximilian, on the contrary, thought that the world might easily have dispensed with either for a governor, and is said to have once exclaimed : "Eternal God, how would it fare with the world if thou hadst not a special care over it whilst under such an emperor as I, who am only a sorry hunter, and under so wicked a pope as Julius II.!"

Rise of the house of Orange in Holland.—In the year 1514 the Dutch, terrified by the atrocities of a pirate named "Groot Peter" (Big Peter), clung to the Empire for protection ; and were placed under the imperial Stattholder, Count Henry of Nassau, who had married the heiress of the French house of Orange, and assuming his wife's family name founded the distinguished house of Orange.



CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE REFORMATION.—CONDITION OF THE CHURCH AT THE BEGINNING
OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.—EARLY LIFE OF MARTIN LUTHER.

From A.D. 1483 to 1503.



Messenger of the Imperial Chamber.

So miserably had the corruptions and inventions of men disfigured the church at the beginning of the sixteenth century, that it would have been difficult for one of the Apostles, had he been permitted to revisit the earth, to recognise in her that simple and holy society of believers for which the Lord took upon Him the form of a servant, and died in agony upon the cross. The essential doctrines of the Christian faith, although

never formally abandoned, had been grievously overlaid by a mass of unauthoritative traditions and legends, the study of which seems in many instances to have superseded that of the Scripture itself to a very considerable extent; for at a subsequent period Carlstadt himself declared, that although he had taken the degree of Doctor in Divinity, he had never yet read the whole Bible.

The sermons of this period were, for the most part, mere commendations of the abuses and errors which prevailed in the church. In many places, and at particular seasons of the year, their professed object was to excite the merriment of the congregation by loose jests and disgusting vulgarity. During what was called the Easter revel for instance, one preacher would amuse his hearers by crying "cuckoo," another would gabble like a goose, a third would throw his cowl over a layman's head, and haul him blindfold about the church, whilst a fourth would relate a legend, invented for the nonce, of the Apostle Peter; a jolly reveller, so ran the tale, who, after drinking his fill at a tavern, used to escape payment of the reckoning by some trick of low knavery. Frederick Mecum, preacher and superintendent of Gotha, gives us, in his History of the Reformation, from the year 1517 to 1542, the results of his own experience. "Christ," says he, "was described as a stern judge, who would damn as many as neglected to obtain the intercession of the saints, of whom the Popes were continually making fresh batches. They also taught that heaven was to be bought by good works, and that the man who had not himself performed a sufficient number of them to ensure his salvation, might make up the deficiency by purchasing from those who had more than they wanted. On the other hand he who thought lightly of these works, and died in his obstinacy, must go to hell, or at least into purgatory, and burn and broil there until he or some one in his stead had done sufficient penance. Day and night men were required without ceasing to sing, and bellow, and scream, and mumble, without ever reflecting that Christ hath said, 'When ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathen do.' Pilgrimages, too, were so much in fashion, that there were almost as many of them to be performed as there are mountains, valleys, forests, and trees in the world. To the convents and priests were brought presents of fowls, geese, ducks, eggs, flax, hemp, butter, and cheese; in return for which the whole place rang and reeked with music, incense, and sacrifices. The kitchens, you may be sure, were well supplied,

and there was no lack of strong drinks. These were paid for in masses, which were to set to rights whatever had gone wrong in the spiritual concerns of the givers."

The perverse scholastic learning of the times was employed in supporting the abuses of the papacy. The universities were filled with sophists, who made the pope their idol. There was no stupidity so gross, no nonsense so absurd, which these men would not undertake to demonstrate by their wonderful word-catching and logic. The very few of the clergy who had sense and rectitude enough to perceive and lament the scandals of the church, were either too weak to oppose them, or did so at the risk of their own destruction. The aged Andrew, archbishop of Carinthia, proceeded to Bâle in 1482, preached loudly against the Pope, and demanded a general council; but he was excommunicated, shunned like a wild beast, and driven at last to hang himself.

The effects of the invention of printing, and the revival of ancient learning, were, however, already beginning to produce a better state of things. The Scriptures were translated into German,* and being spread abroad by means of the press, afforded men opportunities for comparing the practice of the church with the precepts on which it professed to be founded. A race of scholars was coming forwards whose task it was to overturn the scholastic philosophy and the spiritual and ecclesiastical abuses which it supported. Marsilius Ficinus, the celebrated editor of Plato, was one of the first who ventured to express himself freely on the subject of the Christian religion. In the 14th century a school was founded by Gerhard de Groote, at Deventer, in Holland, called the "Brothers of Social Life," which was totally independent of the universities, and which was distinguished both for its deep piety and for its learning. Out of this school came the celebrated Thomas à Kempis. John Wessel, a professor at Heidelberg, who died in 1489, and who on account of his learning was called *lux mundi*, expressed himself strongly against the abuses of the church, and recommended the study of the Bible. Shortly afterwards appeared Laurentius Valla, Reuchlin of Tübingen, and Erasmus of Rotterdam. The last, although he never openly departed from the dogmas of the church, became by his wit and learning the most dangerous enemy that Rome had ever had, by teaching men to laugh at those absurdities which

* There were no fewer than seventeen translations before Luther's.

they had been hitherto accustomed to regard with superstitious reverence. The *Epistolæ obscurorum Virorum* (Letters of the Obscure) of Ulrich von Hutten and his friends chastised the stupidity and wickedness of the priests with a broader and more genial humour, and were everywhere read with avidity; whilst amusement of the same sort was provided for the lower orders in their mother tongue by Sebastian Brand, Hans Sachs, the celebrated cobbler of Nürnberg, and other writers. The eyes of men were opened, and the folly and errors of the priesthood, which might have long withstood the attacks of serious argument, began to fall when subjected to the test of ridicule.

Thus the minds of men were already prepared for a reformation in religion, when Luther appeared, who was to carry it through, not by writing against Rome in his closet, but by an open struggle with the pope himself, and his adherents. Martin Luther was born at Eisleben on the 10th of November, 1483, and was barely six months old when his father, John Luther, a miner, went to settle with his family in the town of Mansfeld, where he was appointed one of the town councillors, an office for which he seems to have been well qualified by his integrity and natural sagacity. Luther never sought to conceal the humbleness of his birth. "My parents," he says in one of his letters, "were poor folks; my father a woodcutter, and my poor mother, his faithful helpmate, used to carry the wood on her shoulders that she might earn something to support us little ones."

In his fourteenth year he was sent, in company with his friend John Reinecke, to a school of some reputation at Magdeburg, where he was obliged to earn his bread by singing in the streets before the doors of houses; as is still the custom of poor scholars in Germany. The following year he was removed to Eisenach, but so difficult did his parents find it to support him at a distance from home, that they were on the point of recalling him, when he was taken into the house of the burgomaster, Conrad Cotta, whose wife had been touched by the sweetness with which the poor famished boy sang the hymns of the church before her door. Luther now made such good use of his industry and abilities, that in a very short time he outstripped all his schoolfellows. He used to take especial delight in music, the love of which he never lost; and played on the flute and harp, and for many years of his life sang a very agreeable tenor, besides himself composing airs for his hymns.

In 1501 he entered at the university of Erfurt, and in 1503 took the degree of Master of Arts. At this period of his life he happened to discover in the university library a Latin Bible, which he studied with great eagerness. In obedience to his father's wishes, Luther was applying himself with assiduity to the study of the law, when a severe illness interrupted his labours, and probably first turned his thoughts towards the plan which he afterwards put into execution—of becoming a monk. An old priest who came to visit him comforted him with the assurance that he would recover, for that God had chosen him to be his instrument in some mighty work. The drooping spirit of Luther revived on hearing these words, and his mind being thus tranquillized, the soundness of his constitution soon triumphed over the disease. Luther had been pursuing his studies diligently for more than three years, when another providential escape led him to doubt whether a life which God had mercifully, and, as he believed, almost miraculously spared, ought not to be devoted exclusively to the service of Him to whom he owed it.

On a beautiful evening in the autumn of 1504, Luther and a young fellow-student named Alexis had strolled together towards the woody knoll which lies at a short distance from the town of Erfurt: so absorbed were they in their conversation, that they hardly observed the masses of black clouds which gradually overspread the sky, until the growling of distant thunder, and the patter of heavy rain-drops on the dry leaves, warned them of an approaching storm, and compelled them to seek shelter. They were within a few paces of the town when the heavens seemed to be rent above their heads, and a flash of forked lightning struck both Alexis and Luther to the ground. The former was killed, and Luther, on recovering his senses, made a vow to St. Ann that he would turn monk.* The effect of this terrible scene on the mind of Luther is recorded in his own words. "It was not willingly or of mine own pleasure that I became a monk; but when I saw myself surrounded by the horror and anguish of death, I vowed a forced and extorted vow." Full of his recently formed resolution, Luther waited on the prior of the Augustine convent at Erfurt, announced his intention, which was greatly applauded; and having written to inform his parents of the step which he was about to take, and given a farewell

* According to another account, Alexis was either murdered or killed in a duel.

musical entertainment to his brother students, he entered the convent on the 22nd of July, 1505, and was introduced as a novice to his future companions. Luther's parents were greatly shocked at hearing that their son had become a monk : his father especially seems to have expressed his disapprobation with considerable warmth. "Never," says Luther, "heard I words uttered by mortal man, which sank deeper into mine heart than these remonstrances of my father." The youthful novice had imagined that in the silence and solitude of the cloister abundant leisure would be afforded him for study and meditation on divine things ; but he found himself miserably deceived. The policy of the monks was to accustom their novices to blind obedience from the moment of their entrance into the convent, and to this end tasks were imposed on them, which were always irksome and not unfrequently degrading. "*Cum sacco per civitatem*," "through the town with your bag," was the rough command the morning after his arrival ;—"it is by begging, not studying, that the convent is enriched." Happily for Luther, the university of Erfurt considered it an insult to their body that one of their graduates should be sent into the streets with a beggar's wallet ; and made such forcible remonstrances to the prior on the subject, that the novice was thenceforth excused from this degrading duty. Still his time was so broken and frittered away by the constant recurrence of menial services, that very little remained for study : and Luther was beginning to despair of ever attaining the object for which he had renounced the world, when an unexpected occurrence at once relieved him from the heavy burden under which he had so long groaned. The Vicar-General of the Augustines in Germany, Dr. Staupitz, happened to visit the convent, and was much struck with the modest expression of Luther's countenance. Hearing a favourable report of him from the prior, Staupitz sent for the young man, and in a long and interesting conversation was made acquainted with the motives which had induced Luther to enter the cloister. Subsequently at confession the novice opened his whole heart to the pious father, telling him of all his doubts and spiritual struggles, and humbly imploring advice and comfort. This request was readily granted by Staupitz, who spoke to him of the doubts which must always precede perfect faith, of the warfare which every soldier of the cross must wage before he can enjoy rest ; that God employed such means to try those whom he destined to be the instruments of his will, in

order to harden them for the mighty work. "Even thou, my beloved Martin," continued the good man, "knowest not yet how necessary and beneficial this trial is to thee. It is not in vain that God tempts thee—thou wilt see that he will employ thee for some great end." How deeply this discourse sank into his soul, and what comfort and courage it gave him, is testified by Luther in several parts of his writings. His condition too was much improved by order of the vicar-general; fewer disagreeable tasks being imposed upon him, and more time allowed for study. At length, the period of his novitiate being ended, Luther assumed the habit of a monk, and on the fourth Sunday after Easter, in the year 1507, celebrated his first mass in the church of the Augustines. Luther now gave himself up to the study of the Scriptures, comparing them with the writings of the fathers, and correcting many hitherto erroneous interpretations of them. In the year 1508 he was invited, on the recommendation of Dr. Staupitz, to fill the chair of Philosophy at the University of Wittenberg, which had been lately founded by the Elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise. Luther would gladly have remained at Erfurt, but gratitude and respect for Staupitz prompted him at once to accept the invitation, and on the 9th of March he appeared on a stage where some of the most important scenes of his future life were to be enacted. Here he delivered, without receiving any salary, lectures on the Logic and Physics of Aristotle.

After spending two years at Wittenberg Luther undertook a journey which must have had a vast influence on his future career as a reformer. A pilgrimage to Rome was in those days esteemed a work of holy merit, and Luther appears to have made a vow to perform such a journey; though it is not improbable that business connected with his order may have been the immediate occasion of his performing it. In 1510 he set off on foot, accompanied by a brother monk, directing his course first to Heidelberg, and thence through Swabia and Bavaria into Italy. The convents of his order were his inns. On beholding from afar the eternal city, he fell upon the earth, and lifting up his hands exclaimed, "Hail, holy Rome, thrice hallowed by the blood of the martyrs spilt within thy walls!" "I little thought at that time," he said afterwards, "that I should be the hermit that rose against the papacy."

Luther, with the enthusiasm natural to his character, entered Rome a firm believer, anxious to discharge all the holy duties incumbent on a pious pilgrim. He duly visited the church of

St. Calixtus with its bones of 8000 martyrs, ascended on his knees the steps of St. Peter's, and performed all the other superstitious rites customary on such occasions. He obtained a glimpse of Pope Julius II., but was probably not much edified at beholding that warlike pontiff figuring in a procession of horsemen, and carrying the host on the back of a magnificent white stallion. Other experiences helped more and more to undeceive him. He had naturally enough formed a high idea of the Roman clergy; he found them, as he afterwards expressed it, "gross ignorant asses," much below the German priests in point at least of theological learning. "Had you asked them," said he, "how many sacraments there were, they would have answered three—the sprinkling-brush, the censer, and the crucifix." Their manifest unbelief and profanity disgusted him more than their ignorance. When officiating in the same church with them they would dispatch seven masses before he could get through one. "*Passa, passa,*" they would exclaim, "get on, make haste, and send Our Lady her Son home again," alluding to the real presence of our Saviour in the host. At other times, when consecrating the sacred elements, they would mutter audibly enough, but in a language not understood by the vulgar, "*Panis es et panis manebis; vinum es et vinum manebis*"—"Bread thou art, and bread thou wilt remain; wine thou art, and wine thou wilt continue to be." The obscure monk, who had entered Rome with such feelings of veneration, quitted it with her condemnation in his bosom. She little dreamed that the humble stranger she had harboured for a fortnight would one day deprive her of half her subjects and revenues.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XXXIV.

Erasmus.—Desiderius Erasmus (as his Dutch name is translated) was born at Rotterdam on the 28th of October, 1467. Soon after his ordination he travelled to Paris, and in 1497 to England, where he was well received by Henry VIII., and formed an intimate acquaintance with Sir Thomas More. Erasmus resided a short time at Oxford as Professor of Greek; visited Italy and Germany; and died at Bâle on the 12th of July, 1536. His most celebrated works are his "Colloquies" and "Encomium Morie" (Praise of Folly).

Augustine Monks.—The Augustine or Austin friars arose about the middle of the thirteenth century, when Popes Innocent

IV. and Alexander IV. united several societies of recluses, having no particular rule, into one order, under a name borrowed from St. Augustine, the celebrated church father and bishop of Hippo, who flourished towards the close of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century. They were to live by begging, that they might be thereby impressed with pious humility. It was not, however, until 1567 that Pope Pius V. incorporated them with what were properly called the "Mendicant Orders." They soon became very numerous, and counted more than 30,000 monks, with 2000 monasteries and 300 nunneries. They were considered an exemplary order, less contentious and fanatical than their rivals, the Dominicans and Franciscans. Their habit consisted of a black cassock and hood, with a sort of white scarf over the shoulder. There is a monastery of Augustines on the Great St. Bernard.

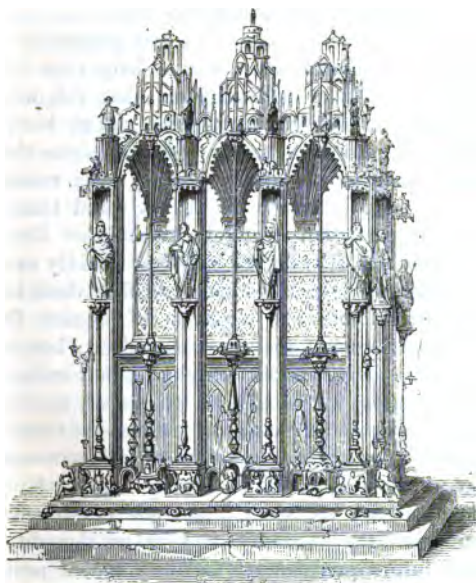
Luther's Cell at Erfurt.—The cell in which Luther dwelt at Erfurt is still preserved, although the convent itself has long since been applied to secular uses. In 1850 it was fitted up for the reception of the German Parliament.



Luther's Cell in the Convent at Erfurt.

CHAPTER XXXV.

IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF THE REFORMATION.



Bronze Shrine of St. Sebald in the Church at Nürnberg, begun by Peter Vischer in 1506, finished in 1519.

"THE spirit of ancient Rome seemed, like a vampire, to have reanimated her corse, that she might suck the blood of those Northern hordes who had laid her prostrate."* Leo X., who had now ascended the papal throne, an enthusiastic admirer and patron of the fine arts, but entirely without religious principles, wished to leave behind him a monument which should perpetuate his name to the remotest posterity. Notwithstanding the enormous revenue derived from the taxes levied on the faithful of all countries, the profligate expenditure of the Popes had almost exhausted the Roman treasury, and Leo was aware that some new mode of raising money must be devised, if he proposed to erect a building worthy of his own greatness and the reputation of

* W. Menzel's History of Germany.

Michael Angelo Buonarotti, the illustrious painter, sculptor, and architect, who had prepared a plan of the work. Ever since the evacuation of Palestine by the crusaders the Pope had decreed that every person who performed a pilgrimage to Rome during the year of jubilee should obtain the same indulgence which would have been granted to him if he had personally visited the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. For a long time this jubilee occurred only once in a hundred years; but this interval was afterwards shortened to fifty, thirty-three, and at last to twenty-five years: and we are told that on these occasions the offerings of the faithful were so abundant that they were raked from the altar into large sacks, and deposited in the papal treasury. But as only a few persons, comparatively, could visit Rome, a plan was devised by which all who had sufficient worldly wealth might purchase indulgences from the Pope. At first these indulgences were nothing more than the remission of penance for sins by which the Christian community were scandalized; but the horrible doctrine began at length to be introduced, that exemption from the fires of purgatory might also be purchased, not only on account of crimes already perpetrated, but even for those which the buyer intended to commit. One of the indulgence-mongers was in this way made the dupe of a cunning rogue, who purchased from him a remission for some crime not yet committed; and having thus taken the necessary steps, as he thought, to secure himself from future punishment (for the common people do not seem to have given themselves much concern about the distinction drawn by the church between the purifying fires of purgatory and the eternal punishment of the wicked), robbed and beat the man who had sold him the indulgence. This traffic was intrusted to the mendicant monks, who went about offering their wares for sale with the most unblushing effrontery. In Germany one Tetzl, a Dominican friar, a man of infamous character, but not without reputation as a preacher, was selected by the papal nuncio as a fit person to be employed in the discreditable task of cajoling his simple-minded countrymen. He was accompanied by a Dominican monk, named Bartholomew, and two secretaries. He entered each town with great pomp, amidst the ringing of bells, the sound of music, and the fluttering of banners, accompanied by the clergy, the different orders of monks and nuns, the magistrates, the students, and a large body of men and women singing psalms. He rode in a splendid chariot, and before him, on a

cushion of velvet, lay the bull which authorized his collections. In this state he repaired to the principal church, which was lighted with wax candles. Before the altar was erected a cross of red wood, bearing the pontifical coat of arms. After Tetzel had mounted the pulpit and pronounced a discourse, brother Bartholomew would offer his goods for sale, by striking with a piece of copper a metal plate filled with hundreds of ready signed indulgences, crying out at the same time "Buy, buy, buy!" Among the devices employed by this artful monk to attract customers, one of the most successful was the exhibition of a picture representing poor souls tormented by the devil in purgatory, with this inscription—

When in the box the cash doth ring,
The soul from out the fire doth spring.*

But there were many others who drove quite as shameless a trade as Tetzel, although his name is more familiar to us from his having been the first whom Luther attacked. One Iselin, for instance, a Swabian monk, used to carry about with him a feather which, as he declared, had been moulted from the wing of the Archangel Michael. Happening by accident to lose his feather, and being obliged to find a substitute for it on the moment, he desired his hostess to bring him a truss of hay out of her stable, and presented it to the crowd as some of the hay on which the infant Saviour had rested in the manger at Bethlehem. The hostess herself knelt down and kissed her own hay as a holy relic. It must not, however, be imagined that this sort of jugglery imposed universally either on the secular clergy or the people; for hundreds were aware of its absurdity, who chose rather to acquiesce in what the pardon-mongers said, than run the risk of incurring the Pope's displeasure. The ignorance of the parochial clergy, too, was in many instances so monstrous that, whatever their good intentions may have been, they did not possess knowledge enough to expose the shameless tricks which were practised on their flocks by the mendicant monks, who claimed exemption from all episcopal authority, except that of the Bishop of Rome himself. A ludicrous story is told of one of them, who, having heard a brother priest much applauded for a pun on the name of St. Benedict (*S. Benedictus benedicat vos*), took the first opportunity of surpassing it, as he supposed, by saying, "*S. Bernhardus*

* Wenn das Geld im Kasten klingt,
Die Seele aus dem Fegfeuer springt.

bernhardat vos" (may St. Bernard *bernhardize* you). What the condition of the monastic orders was may be collected from the fact, that in Cologne alone there were three hundred churches and convents; and that there was not a town in Germany which did not swarm with monks and nuns, many of whom were convicted of the most revolting crimes, but escaped because the ecclesiastical power was too jealous of the temporal to permit their punishment. "In this town of Gotha," says Frederick Mecum, "were fourteen canons, forty parish priests, thirty Augustine monks, two begging friars, and thirty nuns. These were all held to be pious and holy folks, who were earning heaven for us: nevertheless they led such scandalous lives, that nothing in the world could be worse; yet they could not be checked or punished, because they were only subject to the jurisdiction of the Pope." Even from one of the most strenuous opponents of the Reformation, Cardinal Bellarmine, the truth has forced this avowal, that "a few years before the breaking out of the Lutheran and Calvinistic heresies, there existed, according to the testimony of contemporary writers, no strictness in the spiritual courts, no discipline with regard to morals, no acquisition of Christian knowledge, no respect for sacred things; in short, there was hardly a vestige of religion remaining." And Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, acknowledges that most of the preachers of that day discoursed only of indulgences, pilgrimages, and alms to the monks, and made things quite indifferent the ground-work of piety. Yet the crisis would probably have been delayed, but for the audacious attempts of Tetzl and his colleagues to impose on the people in Germany. The cup indeed was brimful, but a steady hand might long have carried it in safety, had not this additional drop of bitterness caused it at once to overflow. On the 31st day of October, 1517, Martin Luther declared war against the sale of indulgences by affixing to the great door of the castle church at Wittenberg a challenge to all comers to dispute with him on ninety-five different theses, in which he pledged himself to prove that the pardon of sins was to be obtained only by contrition and penance, and not to be bought with money; since the Pope, although as the Vicar of Christ on earth he had undoubted power to remit temporal penance, neither possessed nor could ever exercise any control over the punishments which God has sworn to inflict on impenitent sinners. This bold challenge of Luther's fell like a spark on matter prepared for explosion. What thousands had thought

in secret, he had dared openly to express—what hundreds of thousands had suspected, they now felt to be true. The theses of Luther found their way into every part of Germany, yet the Pope and his advisers looked on the affair as merely one of those disputes between monks of rival orders which were perpetually occurring, and commissioned the Cardinal Tommaso di Gaeta (Caietanus), General of the Dominican Order, to inquire into the circumstances of the case. Luther was accordingly summoned to appear at Rome, but the Emperor Maximilian, deeming this a fit opportunity for humbling the arrogant pretensions of the Pope, informed Frederick, Duke of Saxony, that the monk must be spared; and Frederick, proud of the reputation which his newly founded University of Wittenberg had acquired through Luther's exertions, willingly assented. Luther, therefore, instead of being given up to the Pope, was permitted to meet Caietanus at Augsburg, where the Diet was then sitting, and to discuss with him the subjects of his theses. At this period nothing seems to have been farther from the reformer's wishes than a separation from the church; but his opponent was an intemperate man, who required unqualified retraction of all that Luther had advanced; and, this being refused, he rose in great wrath, and dismissed the assembly with these violent words—"I will have nothing more to say to that beast, for he hath deep-seeing eyes and strange speculations in his head."* Luther appealed from the Pope, now ill informed, to the Pope when he should receive better information; but his attempts at reconciliation only drew on further discussions, in which he found it necessary to combat the principal errors of the church of Rome one after another, and thus to widen hopelessly the breach between the Pope and the reformers. Circumstances at this time greatly favoured Luther. By the death of Maximilian, which happened in January, 1519, the imperial crown became vacant, and the Pope, willing to conciliate Frederick of Saxony (who administered the affairs of the Empire during the interregnum), proposed a friendly discussion, to be held at Leipzig between Luther and his Wittenberg friends Carlstadt and Melancthon on the one side, and the famous logician Dr. Eck on the other. Had this conference taken place before the discussion with Cardinal Caietanus, a compromise might perhaps have been effected; but Luther had gone too far to retract. Eck now pro-

* "*Ego nolo amplius cum hac bestia loqui, habet enim profundos oculos, et mirabiles speculationes in capite suo.*"

ceeded to Rome, to solicit Luther's condemnation. On the 15th of June, 1520, the famous bull "Exsurge, Domine" (Let God arise) was published, in which 41 propositions extracted from Luther's works were condemned as scandalous and heretical; all persons were forbidden to read his writings on pain of excommunication; those who possessed any of them were commanded to burn them; Luther himself, unless he retracted his errors and burnt his books within sixty days, was pronounced an obstinate heretic, was excommunicated and delivered over to Satan for the destruction of his body; and all secular princes were required, under pain of the same censures, to seize and deliver him up to punishment.

In pursuance of this sentence Luther's works were publicly burnt at Rome and Louvain. But the bull met with a very different reception in the greater part of Germany. At Erfurt the students snatched it from the booksellers' shops and threw it into the water. In other towns the publishers of it were obstructed and insulted, and the bull itself torn up and trodden under foot. Luther himself published a pamphlet against it, in which he denounced the pope as the man of sin, or antichrist, foretold in the Scriptures; and by way of retaliation for the burning of his own works, he assembled the professors and students of the University of Wittenberg in an open space outside the Elster Gate, on the banks of the Elbe, and there in the presence of a large concourse of spectators solemnly consigned the bull, together with the papal decretals, to the flames.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XXXV.

Burial of the Emperor Maximilian.—He commanded that after his death all the hair should be plucked out of his body, and all his teeth drawn, and that both hair and teeth should be covered with hot coals. His body was also to be scourged, and then wrapped in a linen cloth with quicklime; and afterwards, being clad in grave-clothes of silk and damask, to be buried beneath the high altar in such a manner that the priest who said mass should always stand on the Emperor's breast. Maximilian was accustomed to say that the King of France ruled over asses who bore all the burthens that he laid upon them; that the King of Spain was a king of men, who obeyed him only in reasonable things; that the King of England was a king of angels, whom he

enjoined nothing wrong, and who obeyed him with pleasure ; but that, as for himself, he was a king over kings, who obeyed him just when it pleased them. During his lifetime he had caused the pedigree of his family to be drawn out with great care ; a circumstance which tempted some witty rogue to write underneath the scroll on the walls of the palace :—

Da Adam hackt und Eva spann,
Wer war dann der Edelmann ?

When Adam dug and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman ?

To which the Emperor rejoined—

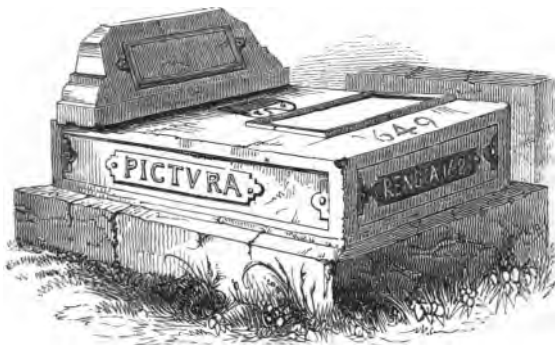
Ich bin ein Mann wie ein ander Mann,
Nur dasz mir Gott die Ehre gann.

A man like other men am I,
Save that my God hath made me high.

The Swiss Reformation ; Zwingli.—Ulrich Zwingli, the leader of the Reformation in Switzerland, was born at Wildenhäufen in the county of Toggenburg, on the 1st of January, 1484. In 1506 he began to study the Holy Scriptures diligently, particularly the writings of St. Paul, which he wrote out and committed to memory. In 1519 he was made a canon of the cathedral of Zürich, where, as he had done before, he frequently preached against the errors of Rome. The immediate cause of the Reformation in Switzerland was the same as in Germany. A Franciscan monk, named Bernardin Sampson, had come thither from Milan for the purpose of selling indulgences. Zwingli opposed him, as Luther had opposed Tetzl, and went on correcting one abuse after another, until he had reduced his church to a state of what he conceived to be Apostolic simplicity, sweeping away, not only the errors and superstitious practices of Rome, but even the forms necessary for the decent celebration of divine service. In point of doctrine, there seems to have been little difference between him and Luther, except on the subject of the Eucharist : Luther maintaining that the words “ This is my body ” were to be taken literally, as declaring the real presence of Christ in the sacrament—Zwingli contending that the elements were only *symbols* of the Redeemer’s body and blood. This difference of opinion prevented a union between the two Reformers, and caused the Lutherans to regard the Zwinglians, whom they branded with the name of “ Sacramentaries,” with almost as much hatred as they

felt towards the Roman Catholics. Zwingli was slain on the 11th of October, 1531, in a battle between the men of Zürich and those of the Romish cantons,—Lucern, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, and Zug; in which, according to ancient custom, he bore, as a priest, the banner of the republic. His mantle descended on John Calvin or Chauvin, a native of Noyon in Picardy, who drew up a plan of church government which was accepted by the authorities of Geneva, and was the foundation of what is generally called the Genevan or Reformed church.

Albert Dürer, the most distinguished German painter of the sixteenth century, was born at Nürnberg on the 20th May, 1471, and died on the 6th April, 1528. His grave may still be seen in the churchyard of St. John, near Nürnberg.



Albert Dürer's Grave.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

CHARLES V.—DIET OF WORMS.

From A.D. 1519 to 1556.



House in which Albert Dürer lived at Nürnberg.

THE Emperor Maximilian left two grandsons, Charles, King of Spain, Naples, and Sicily, Lord of the Netherlands and of Milan, and Ferdinand (afterwards King of Hungary and Bohemia), Archduke of Austria. The rival candidates for the vacant throne were Charles of Spain and Francis I. of France. Charles was one of the richest monarchs of Europe, and possessed moreover the power of protecting the Empire against the Turks. Francis, who enjoyed the reputation of being a brave and chivalrous prince, had also many friends in Germany. Whichever of the rival candidates the electors chose, they would find in him a master infinitely more powerful than any one of themselves. In this perplexity they offered the crown to Frederick of Saxony: but that sagacious prince was well aware that the influence of his

nouse in Germany would be too feeble to resist such powerful rivals as Charles and Francis, and that, if he were elected, little more than the shadow of sovereign power would be permitted to him. He therefore at once refused the crown, and recommended Charles to the electors; who on their part preferring him as a German prince to Francis, a foreigner, followed the Duke of Saxony's advice, and elected Charles Emperor of Germany, he having first signed an instrument by which all their rights and privileges were secured to the princes of the Empire. The new Emperor, who was born in a house at Ghent, of which vestiges still remain, was nineteen years of age when he assumed the imperial mantle. By the death of his mother's father, Ferdinand of Spain, he had succeeded to the crown of that kingdom in 1516; but committed the regency to the famous Ximenes, and resided chiefly in the Netherlands, of which country he inherited the sovereignty from his grandmother, Mary of Burgundy, daughter of Charles the Bold, last Duke of Burgundy, and wife of the Emperor Maximilian. His coronation as Emperor was performed with great pomp at Aix-la-Chapelle, during his first visit to Germany, two years after his election. On ascending the imperial throne, he exchanged, like Henry V. of England, a wild and dissolute life for one of the greatest regularity: and his talents being naturally of no mean order, he soon acquired a competent knowledge of state affairs. The great object of Charles was to secure as many friends as possible, for the accession of a foreigner to the throne of Spain had raised him up many enemies in that country. The Lutheran heresy, he thought, might be easily stifled, supported as it seemed to be by very few of the powerful nobles of Germany; and the extirpation of this sect would be an acceptable offering to the Pope. Had he examined more closely, he might have found that the Reformation was unavoidable, and rendered his name glorious by placing himself at its head. Luther had already openly preached that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper ought to be administered in both kinds to the laity, and had published two pamphlets which were read throughout Germany with the greatest eagerness. The one was addressed to "The Christian Nobility of the German Nation;" the title of the other was "Of the Babylonish Captivity," and contained a remonstrance in Luther's usually nervous but coarse style against the corrupt practices of the Papacy. To the nobles and men of letters he wrote in Latin, to the common people in German;

and his constant use of his native language in argumentative writing, as well as his translation of the Bible, formed the style which is generally called the modern high German. The effect of Luther's reasonings, uttered in this richest and most energetic of European languages, was almost miraculous. He compares his own preaching to a mighty trumpet, with which he would encompass the paper walls of Rome, and blow until they fell to the ground. Not only the people but many men of learning were convinced by his arguments: but his great object at present was to gain over Charles V., whose accession to his cause would render a reform of the church comparatively easy. With this view he addressed a letter to the Emperor, couched in the most respectful terms, urging on him the necessity of lending his powerful aid to the mighty work of purifying the church from her abuses; but Charles, whose great object was to acquire popularity, and remove the objections which many of the princes of the Empire had entertained to his election, looked on Luther rather as a disturber of the public peace than a reformer of acknowledged abuses, and made no reply to his letter. The next year, as we have already mentioned, Luther was excommunicated by the Pope, and burnt in public the papal bull and books of the canon law. In 1521 a diet of the Empire was held at Worms, at which the new Emperor presided, and proposed plans for crushing at once these heretical proceedings, by which, as he declared, the peace of the church was endangered. Not doubting that such would be the effect of a public discussion, and willing also to oblige Luther's patron, the Elector of Saxony, Charles summoned the Reformer to appear at the diet and defend his doctrines.

As soon as Luther received this invitation, he set out for the city of Worms, accompanied by his friends Justus Jonas, Nicholas Amsdorf, Peter Suaven,* and Jerome Schurf. The last of these was a lawyer, who was to act in some sort as his advocate. Although Luther had received a safe-conduct from the Emperor, the journey was by no means without danger; for it was very probable that the infuriated populace would waylay and assassinate him; and even if he escaped this peril, the fate of John Huss, a hundred years before, warned him that his life might not be secure from the machinations of his enemies at the diet. But he had long

* A young Danish student—afterwards celebrated for his labours in Pomerania and Denmark.

accustomed himself to contemplate martyrdom without alarm; and the assurance that he was destined to perform a mighty work supported his courage and strengthened his resolution. On his way to Worms he passed a night in the convent of Rheinhardtsbrun, in Thuringia. The superior, John Kestner, who was informed of his name, and the purpose of his journey, expressed his concern for him: "I know the Italians and Spaniards well," said he, "and if they catch you tripping in the smallest word, they'll burn you to a certainty." "Nay," said Luther, smiling, "one might endure a bed of nettles, but to be burnt with fire—that is indeed altogether too hot. But dear Mr. John," he continued, "say a Paternoster for our Lord Jesus Christ, that God may be gracious to him; for if *he* obtains his ends, *I* shall get mine at the same time." To other friends who met him at Oppenheim, and tried to turn him back, he said, "An there were as many devils in Worms as there are tiles upon the roofs of the houses, nevertheless I will go through them, and make my confession openly." As the towers of Worms appeared in sight, Luther stood up in his chariot and began to sing the hymn, both the words and music of which he had composed a day or two before at Oppenheim, "*Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott*" (a trusty fortress is our God). The imperial herald in full dress, and carrying the eagle in his hand, preceded his carriage. A great number of horsemen followed him, and when he entered the city thousands of the inhabitants accompanied him to his quarters, next door to the Swan inn. The entrance of the Emperor himself had hardly excited so much sensation. His entry is thus described by himself in his own quaint style:—"I rid into the city in a little close carriage, my face covered with my hood: and all the folk came together to see the monk, Dr. Martin; and so I came unto Duke Frederick's lodging; and thereby was Duke Frederick mighty sorry that I had come to Worms at all." On the following afternoon (17th of April) about four o'clock Luther appeared before the diet. As he entered the great hall in which the assembly sat, George of Frundsberg tapped him on the shoulder and said, "Monkikin! thou art on thy way to make such a stand as neither I nor many a captain besides ever made in the field of battle. If thou meanest honestly, and art sure of thy ground, go forward in God's name, and be of good cheer—He will not forsake thee." Many other members of the diet addressed words of encouragement to him. One recalled to his remembrance the

words of Christ, "When they shall lead you and deliver you up, take no thought beforehand what ye shall speak, neither do ye premeditate; but whatever shall be given you in that hour, that speak." Others called out to him not to fear those that kill the body, and after that have nothing more that they can do. The Commissary of the Archbishop of Trèves then opened the proceedings by asking Luther whether he acknowledged a pile of books which lay on the table to be his, and whether he would retract their contents. Luther in the straightforward simplicity of his heart would at once have answered "yes" to the first question, had not his counsel Schurf stopped him, and requested that the titles of the books might be read singly. This being done, Luther acknowledged all of them to be his. To the second question he replied, "Since here is question concerning faith, and the salvation of the soul, which is the greatest treasure in heaven and on earth; and lest I should for want of due consideration say more than the subject requireth, or less than it deserveth, I humbly pray your imperial majesty therefore for some short space of time, that I may do no wrong to God's word, nor bring danger to my soul through want of preparation." The Emperor granted this request, remarking however that Luther had already had time enough, but that he should be indulged with one day more. The assembly was then dismissed. It is said that on this occasion nearly five thousand persons were collected in the hall, the avenues, and round the windows. On the 18th of April he was summoned again at the same time, but was kept waiting until six o'clock, when he was ushered into the hall, which was already lighted up. He was again required to retract all that he had said against the church. Hereupon he delivered a long speech in German, which at the request of the Emperor he repeated in Latin. He frankly declared that he should commit a very great sin in recanting, since he would thereby only strengthen and aggravate the evil against which he was contending, and he firmly demanded to be confuted before he was condemned. But this proposal was not listened to. He was simply to retract, in order that the trouble he had occasioned might be put an end to once for all. The disturbance in Germany was very inconvenient to the Emperor, who had not yet seated himself firmly on the throne of Spain, and was on the eve of a war with France. He was therefore resolved, if Luther would not retract, to put him at once under the ban of the empire, as he already was under the excommunication of the Pope, and so to

end the matter. Accordingly he hastily demanded that Luther should explicitly declare himself. Hereupon the bold monk replied with a firm voice: "If, then, your imperial majesty requires a direct answer, I will give one that has neither horns nor teeth. When convicted of my error by passages from the Scriptures, or by clear and manifest reasons and arguments—for I put no trust in a Council, nor in the Pope, who, it is as clear as day, have often contradicted and confuted themselves—I will retract, but otherwise, not: since it is neither safe nor prudent to do any thing against one's conscience. Here I make my stand, and can act no otherwise. God help me! Amen!" The assembly then broke up.

Luther's courage astonished the princes and delighted the German nobility. Soon after his return to his lodgings, the old Duke Eric of Brunswick sent him a silver flagon full of his favourite Eimbeck beer, which Luther drank, saying, "As Duke Eric hath remembered me, so may our Lord Jesus Christ remember him in his last agony." These words were recollected by the duke on his deathbed. The German nobles, the followers of Franz von Sickingen, who were present in great numbers, could not conceal their joy. Reports were circulated that 400 knights were prepared to defend Luther against all the attacks of those in power, and billets were found with the ominous word "Bundschuh" inscribed upon them—the watchword of the insurgent peasantry.

A few days after Luther's departure from Worms he was placed under the ban of the Empire, and thus deprived of all his privileges as a subject, whilst all princes were forbidden to harbour him, and every man enjoined to seize his person so soon as the term of his safe-conduct should have expired. Some of the ecclesiastics, indeed, were for seizing him at once, and delivering the church from the author of so pestilent a heresy, by imitating the conduct of the council of Constance in the case of John Huss. But the members of the diet refused to inflict a second wound on the German reputation for integrity by sanctioning so gross a violation of the public faith; nor was Charles himself inclined to bring so deep a stain upon the very first years of his administration.

The Palatine Lewis said it would never be forgotten to the end of time, that those who had broken their pledge to John Huss had thenceforth little success or happiness. Duke George of Saxony, although personally hostile to Luther, declared

that the German princes could not and would not allow such a deed of shame to be done on the day of their Emperor's first diet: such conduct was inconsistent with the old German honesty—what they had promised, that they must perform. The Emperor himself maintained that if truth and honour existed nowhere else, at least they should be found in the courts of princes. After two or three conferences with the Archbishop of Trèves, Luther was commanded to quit the town within twenty-one days; the safe-conduct was to continue in force provided he abstained from preaching on the road.* Luther gratefully acknowledged this kindness, and then turning to the Archbishop said, "With respect to the subject of our disputation I can give thee no better advice than that which Gamaliel gave, (Acts v.) 'If this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought: but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God.' I will sooner give up body and life, trunk and limb, than surrender God's true and holy word." The next day having breakfasted and taken leave of his friends, and blessed them, Luther set out on his return to Wittenberg.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XXXVI.

Franz von Sickingen.—A Franconian knight, named Franz of Sickingen, was among the foremost of those who favoured the Reformation, as affording them an opportunity for emancipating themselves, not only from the spiritual dominion of the Pope, but from the tyranny exercised by the Emperor and princes of Germany. Sickingen was a great admirer of Luther, and invited him, in case of need, to his castles in the forests and ravines of Kaiserslautern and Kreutznach, and especially to the renowned Ebernburg, where Hutten had established a printing press, whence a mass of audacious plans were circulated. This castle used to be called "the hotel of Justice." Sickingen was employed by the Emperor to act against the French on the banks of the Rhine. So zealously and efficiently did he discharge this duty, that the French, although commanded by the renowned Bayard, were compelled to retire after a brave resistance and shut themselves up in the fortress of Mezières, which would soon have fallen, had not the Count of Nassau, who envied Sickingen, withdrawn a considerable body of troops from the besieging army. Disgusted

* This condition Luther appears to have violated.

at this failure, Sickingen no longer hesitated to accept the offers of assistance made to him by the French king, and calling together the nobles of Swabia, Franconia, and the Rhineland, at Landau, he laid before them his plans for overthrowing the imperial power, and was unanimously elected their leader, with an understanding, that if the enterprise succeeded, the crown of the Empire should be placed on his head. But the French had little confidence in their new ally, and the German nobles, too haughty to endure for any length of time the authority of any commander, gradually withdrew from the confederacy; so that Sickingen, after declaring war against the Elector of Trèves on the 27th August, 1522, was compelled either to attack the city with a miserably insufficient force, or abandon his ambitious plans altogether.

On the 7th of September his little army, consisting of 1500 horse, 5000 foot, and a considerable train of artillery, appeared before the walls of Trèves. But the disaffected citizens, on whose co-operation he had confidently reckoned, were overawed by the presence of their sovereign and made no demonstration; whilst the only one of his allies who took the field was driven back by the Landgrave of Hesse; and intelligence reached Sickingen that his former patron, the Elector Palatine, was hastening to the relief of the city with a considerable force. Sickingen, therefore, after bombarding the city for seven days, withdrew his troops on the 14th of September. The following year he again invaded the Palatinate, but was repulsed by the united forces of the Elector Palatine, the Archbishop of Trèves, and the Landgrave of Hesse. In the spring of 1523 Sickingen threw himself into his fortress of Landstuhl, where he hoped to hold out for at least a quarter of a year. But he had miscalculated his own resources, and underrated those of his enemies. The walls of the mountain fortress, which before the invention of artillery had bidden defiance to its assailants, were rent and shattered by the storm of missiles poured in without intermission from the battering train of the besiegers, and on the 30th of April the principal tower fell down with a terrible crash, burying many of the besieged in its ruins. The very newness of the walls in other parts prevented their offering any effectual resistance to the balls. Sickingen had ascended the remaining tower for the purpose of reconnoitring the enemy, and was in the act of directing one of the unwieldy engines, which were still employed in the defence of fortified places,

when a cannon-ball, tearing the framework of the machine to pieces, dashed Sickingen against one of the beams, which wounded him fatally in the side. Writhing in agony he was borne by his men to the only shot-proof chamber of the castle, which had now become a heap of ruins. "Where are my friends?" said the wounded man, "who promised me so fairly? Where is Fürstenberg—where tarry the Switzers and the men of Strasburg?" Resistance being now useless, Sickingen offered to surrender his castle on condition of being allowed free egress for himself and followers; but this the conquerors peremptorily refused. "It matters not," said the dying chief; "I shall not long remain your prisoner." He had hardly strength left to sign the capitulation, and already was in the agonies of death, when the princes entered his room. "How had I injured thee," said the Elector of Trèves, "that thou shouldst attack me and my poor people?" "Or I," said the Landgrave of Hesse, "that thou shouldst invade my territories while I was yet a minor?" To these taunts Sickingen calmly replied, "I must soon plead before a higher tribunal." His chaplain, Nicholas, enquired whether he desired to confess. "I have already confessed my sins to God," was the answer of the dying man. The chaplain then offered him the consolations of religion, and Sickingen breathed his last at the moment that the host was elevated, and the princes kneeling before it offered up a paternoster for the repose of his soul. With him expired the *Faust Recht* (or right assumed by the nobles of levying forces and declaring war on their own account); for the feudal aristocracy of Germany, too proud to make common cause with the cities and peasants, and too feeble and disunited to effect their own emancipation, had no course left but to submit patiently to the tyranny of their princes.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.



Castle of the Wartburg, in Thuringia, where Luther made his Translation of the Bible.

As Luther's safe-conduct would expire in a few days, when anybody, according to the imperial edict, would be at liberty to seize him, his friend the Elector of Saxony resolved to convey him to some place of safety as soon as he should enter his dominions. Luther himself was informed of this plan, and communicated it to his travelling companion, Amsdorff; but it was kept a secret from everybody else except the immediate actors in it. Not far from the town of Eisenach, three horsemen suddenly rushed out of a wood. One of them seized the reins and interrogated the coachman; another held his javelin against Luther's breast, and bade him consider himself a prisoner. He was then placed on a horse and conducted to the Wartburg, a castle belonging to the Elector of Saxony, seated on a lofty and wooded hill within a mile or two of Eisenach. Here he arrived at eleven o'clock at night. His real name was kept a profound secret, even

from the people in the castle. The warder believed him to be some malefactor who had been apprehended on the highway. One lad alone, the son of a nobleman, was appointed to attend upon him, and bring him his meat and drink. In this solitary retreat, which he called his "Patmos," and where he lived under the assumed name of Junker Georg (Squire George), Luther had ample time for study, to which he devoted himself with ardour. He applied to Greek and Hebrew, wrote several pamphlets and commentaries, and commenced his translation of the Bible. His friends who were not in the secret were alarmed at his absence. Many thought that he had been seized and put to death. He had scarcely however resided ten months in this retreat, when the news of some intemperate proceedings on the part of Carlstadt called him again into the field. During Luther's absence this well-meaning but most injudicious reformer had been displaying his zeal by violently demolishing altars, crucifixes, and every ornament, whether objectionable or not, which had any connection with the Romish ritual. He had also put forth doctrines respecting the holy eucharist which were at variance with the opinions of his master; and was undoing much of what had been effected with so much difficulty and danger, when Luther suddenly appeared at Wittenberg, thundered for eight days from the pulpit, and secured for the moderate party among the reformers the influence which they were on the point of losing. In the same year (1522) Albert of Brandenburg, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, had an interview with Luther, and announced his intention of reforming the order, marrying, and declaring himself hereditary Duke of Prussia. Luther's early patron, Frederick of Saxony, still continued to befriend him, and allowed him to introduce into all the churches of that country a simple form of prayer in the German language, and, two years later, to publish the first German hymn-book.

Whilst these reforms were going on, the perversion of Luther's doctrine respecting Christian liberty became the cause of much bloodshed. Throughout Germany the peasants had long groaned under the oppression of their feudal lords, and were indeed little better than slaves. Towards the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries they had attempted several insurrections, which were not quelled without considerable difficulty and bloodshed. The general ferment caused by the Reformation stimulated them to fresh attempts, and in 1522 they raised

the standard of revolt in Swabia. Their banner contained a golden shoe, with the motto:—

“Wer frei will seyn
Der folge diesem Sonnenschein.”

(Let him who will be free follow this sunshine.)

This revolt, however, as well as one in the year 1524, was put down; but in 1525 the rebellion became general. At Weingarten the peasants surrounded the small army which Truchsetz von Waldburg had raised to oppose them, and it was only by false promises that he managed to obtain a truce. The rebels, however, behaved with great moderation. They drew up a statement of their grievances in 12 Articles, and desired that it should be submitted to a tribunal comprised of the Archduke Ferdinand, the Elector of Saxony, Luther, Melancthon, and a few other clergymen. The principal articles were, that they should be at liberty to choose their own pastors; that nothing more than their tithes should be exacted from them; that corporal servitude should be abolished; that they should have the right of hunting, fishing, and cutting wood; and that justice should be administered according to fixed and ancient laws. The simplicity of these poor people drew a smile from Charles and the other princes; but Luther viewed the matter in a graver light, and sent them a letter full of the most cutting reproaches. The insurgents, being thus driven to despair, and having chosen the celebrated Götz von Berlichingen to be their leader, overran all Franconia, took Würzburg by storm, and, after pulling down and setting fire to an immense number of castles and convents, were at last completely overthrown by the imperial troops. About the same time the serfs in Thuringia and Saxony rose against their rulers at the instigation of a mad fanatic named Thomas Münzer.

Whilst Luther lay concealed in the Wartburg, and Carlstadt was carrying on his violent proceedings at Wittenberg, there arose at Zwickau a sect termed Anabaptists, headed by one Klaus Storch, a weaver, who went about attended by twelve apostles and seventy-two disciples. As their name imports, they taught that the baptism of infants was unscriptural, and therefore that those who had been thus erroneously baptized must go through the rite again when they arrived at years of discretion, provided always that they felt themselves called thereto by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, otherwise they could not be admitted into the Christian covenant at all. Being expelled from Zwickau, Storch

went to Wittenberg, where he and his adherents joined the hare-brained reformer Carlstadt, and were feebly withstood by Melancthon, until Luther arrived and destroyed their influence. Meanwhile their apostle Thomas Münzer was preaching at Altstadt in Thuringia, not only against the papal usurpation, but against the doctrines of Luther, whom he denounced as "a fellow who extracted the word of God out of books, and swallowed the dead letter." As he taught the lawfulness of resistance to sovereigns, his doctrines attracted an immense number of followers, who were admitted by baptism into the society, and looked anxiously for the time when, as he led them to believe, all earthly kingdoms should be destroyed, and the saints should establish a sort of spiritual republic.

Münzer afterwards visited Nürnberg and Mühlhausen in Saxony, where he plundered the monasteries and houses of the rich, and proclaimed the doctrine condemned by the thirty-eighth article of our church, that "Christian men's goods are common." He also published a proclamation, in which he styles himself "Thomas with the Hammer," and calls on his followers to "make the hole wider, that the world may see and understand who these mighty Jacks be who have blasphemously made God into the miserable figure of a painted man." By dint of these exhortations he collected an army of peasants and miners at Frankenhausen, where his forces were defeated in 1525 by the united troops of the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, and Duke Henry of Brunswick. Five hundred men were left dead on the field; and Münzer himself, being found concealed in a hay-loft, was put to death with twenty-five others. After his death one of the princes behaved with the grossest brutality to his widow, for which he was sharply reprov'd by Luther. "A very knightly, noble deed truly," writes the indignant reformer, "to treat thus a miserable, forsaken, helpless woman! What shall I write to such swine? The Scripture calleth such men 'beasts,' but we must suffer them, because through them God seeth fit to plague us. I have well considered the matter, and do believe that if the peasants were lords, the devil would be an abbot; and if the nobles were masters, his dam would be an abbess."

But though Luther could thus reprove the high born oppressors of the peasants, he viewed the revolt of the latter with the greatest aversion, as these disturbances seemed to compromise the success of the Reformation.

Hitherto the princes of Germany had suspected Luther as a dangerous innovator, whose doctrines tended towards revolution in state as well as church affairs; but when they heard him openly and unceasingly preach that every sovereign was appointed by God, and responsible only to the Almighty for the manner in which he exercised the authority entrusted to him, they began to look on the reformer as a powerful auxiliary in their great design of emancipating themselves from the Pope as well as from the Emperor, and joyfully embraced the opportunity afforded of enriching themselves at the expense of both by seizing on their possessions. From this moment the Reformation in Germany assumed the form of a struggle for political power rather than an attempt to deliver men from spiritual bondage. In the North, Gustavus Vasa introduced the Lutheran faith, because he believed this to be the most effectual mode of widening the breach between his own country and the Danes, whose king, Christian, he had driven out of Sweden. Albert of Prussia embraced Protestantism for the sake of making the territory of the Teutonic Order hereditary in his family. Some of the German princes were perhaps influenced by motives less objectionable: but it is worthy of remark, in proof of what we have stated, that the more distant a country was from the residence of the Emperor, the more readily did its rulers embrace the doctrines of the Reformation. In 1526 a diet was held at Spires, at which the two parties agreed to abstain from hostilities until the return of Charles V. from Spain, whither he had gone immediately after the diet of Worms, in order to repress some symptoms of discontent which had shown themselves during his absence from his hereditary kingdom. Meanwhile Luther, under the auspices of the new Elector John of Saxony, had been carrying on his reforms to a great extent in that country. All ecclesiastical foundations became the property of the state, but a great part of their income was devoted to purposes of public education. Monks and nuns were absolved from their vows and allowed to marry, if their consciences would permit them. The aged churchmen were pensioned off. Luther himself, bidding defiance to an ancient prophecy, that out of the union of a monk with a nun Antichrist should spring, married a handsome young nun named Catherine of Bora, by whom he had four children. To some of his friends who remonstrated with him on the sinfulness of thus deliberately violating a solemn obligation voluntarily undertaken, Luther replied, "I have fallen

into great contempt on account of this my marriage, yet I trust it is a thing over which the angels will rejoice and devils weep." He is by no means sparing of his animadversions on those who had any share in keeping up the system of celibacy, of which he had experienced the evils in his own person. "O ye tyrants!" says he in one of his bursts of rough eloquence, "O ye horrible parents and relations in Germany! And for you, pope and bishops, who can curse you as you deserve, who can sufficiently execrate your blindness and tyranny in teaching and wishing for such a system?" The monastic orders were entirely suppressed, and the secular clergy placed on a different footing. And here Luther committed that fatal error under the effects of which the Protestant community of Germany is still labouring. Wishing to conciliate the temporal authorities, he taught that to them belonged the right of deciding in controversies on questions both of discipline and faith; and, suppressing all the bishoprics, he transferred the authority hitherto held by the successors of the apostles to a sort of mixed commission, composed of himself, the other reformers, and certain lay counsellors appointed by the Elector—a form of church government which still exists in Saxony and elsewhere under the title of *Consistorium*. Melancthon, indeed, the most single-hearted of all the reformers, tried to establish a modified form of episcopacy: but Luther, afraid of losing the support of the princes, gave him little encouragement; yet he afterwards bitterly lamented that the church should have been thus subjected to the temporal power. In each congregation one priest was retained, who was named a "preacher," or "pastor," to indicate that the chief business of a spiritual officer was to preach the Gospel and lead wandering sheep into the fold of Christ. The dress of the pastor was the black robe of the Augustines, over which, when engaged in prayer at the altar, he wore a white surplice. The service was performed entirely in German, and hymns were sung, in which the whole congregation joined. Luther himself wrote and set to music many of these hymns. Next in rank to the pastor was the schoolmaster, whose office was to teach the catechism. Luther's penetrating mind had discovered that the only effectual means of destroying the influence of Rome must be sought in the cleansing of that Augean stable of ignorance, where the seeds of error found so congenial a soil and shot forth so luxuriantly. With those who had grown up in this ignorance little could be done. The experiment must

be tried on young and teachable minds. Luther therefore wrote to his Elector in these words:—"There is no more fear of God nor discipline, since the Pope's ban hath become a dead letter, and every man doeth what seemeth good in his own sight. But inasmuch as it is enjoined on us all, especially on the ruling powers, to educate the children who are daily born to the poor, and grow up among us ; therefore we must have schools. If the old folks are lost, at least it is the fault of the government if the young remain neglected and uneducated." In the year 1529 a diet assembled at Spires, where the princes of the Empire decided by a majority of votes that church affairs should remain as they were until a general council could be held. The Lutheran princes immediately drew up and forwarded to the Emperor a *protest*, from which circumstance they and all the Lutheran party were thenceforth styled *Protestants*. In 1521 Charles V. raised to the papal throne his old tutor Adrian of Utrecht. This good man acknowledged the corruptions of the papacy, and took into consideration the hundred articles of complaint which the German princes had drawn up at the diet of Worms, with the intention of reforming at all events the outward discipline of the church, even if her doctrines were allowed to remain unaltered; but he died in 1523, and his successor, Clement VII., declared that the secession of the northern nations was less dangerous than a general reformation. It was better, he said, to lose a part than the whole.

In 1522 Charles formed an alliance with England against France, and three years afterwards the imperial army, commanded by George of Frundsberg, overthrew the French at Pavia, and took their king prisoner. On the 6th of May, 1527, the Germans took Rome by storm, and burnt a considerable part of the city; but the stench arising from the number of unburied bodies soon produced a pestilence, which compelled them to abandon their conquest. In Hungary Charles's brother Ferdinand became so unpopular, chiefly through his persecution of the Lutherans, that his opponent, John Zapolya, obtained the suffrages of a very large party. France fomented this division, sent Zapolya's party 30,000 crowns, and induced the Sultan to assist them. In consequence of these intrigues Soliman II. entered Hungary with a large force, overran the whole country, and besieged Vienna for twenty-one days, but was obliged to retreat before Nicholas Count of Salm. The Emperor, anxious to secure his brother on the

throne of Hungary, now left Bologna, where he had been residing for some time, and, returning to Germany, summoned a diet of the Empire to be held at Augsburg.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XXXVII.

Luther at the Wartburg.—It is curious to observe how strong a hold the superstitious fancies of the age had on the powerful but imaginative mind of Martin Luther. Strange visions were perpetually presenting themselves to his eyes in the solitude of his Patmos. One day as he sat busied in his translation of the Scriptures, the arch-fiend himself appeared in bodily presence standing at his right hand, with a grin of devilish triumph and derision. Half mad with terror, yet at the same time indignant at this very unwarrantable intrusion on his privacy, Luther seized the heavy inkstand which stood beside him, and hurled it at the head of his unwelcome visitor, who vanished with a cry of rage and disappointment. In confirmation of this strange tale, Luther's room in the Wartburg is shown to strangers, with the stains of ink still visible on one of the walls. In fact, Luther's nervous and irritable temperament, acted upon by the almost complete solitude into which he was plunged, after the exciting scenes through which he had recently passed, seems to have been wrought up to a pitch little short of insanity. The most common occurrence was magnified by his excited imagination into some snare of Satan. Thus one evening, when about to retire to rest, he found his bed occupied by a large black English dog, which seemed inclined to dispute the possession of it. Luther, instead of taking measures to eject him, fell on his knees and recited the 8th psalm; when on coming to the verse, "Omnia subiecisti sub pedibus tuis," the dog suddenly vanished; after which, we are told, Luther enjoyed a comfortable sleep.

As far, however, as bodily comforts were concerned, Luther seems to have had no reason to complain of his treatment at the Wartburg. His table was so liberally supplied that, though he seems to have shrewdly suspected that he was indebted to some princely hand for the entertainment, he was fearful that he was overtaking the hospitality of the warder of the castle. With the title of Junker Georg he also adopted the dress and manners of a German noble. He suffered his hair and beard to grow, he wore a riding-frock, was girt with a sword, wore a gold chain round his neck, and

would frequently go out to hunt and shoot. His monkish breeding, however, would sometimes peep out in spite of all the pains he took to conceal it. If he saw a book lying in the window or upon a table, he could not resist the temptation of looking into it, an act not at all characteristic of the German noble of those days. He was especially very near betraying himself on his road back to Wittenberg. He had put up at the Lily at Erfurt, and at dinner a priest began to abuse Luther, and inveigh against the error and misery which he had introduced into the church. Luther addressed him and said, that being a poor unlettered nobleman, and going sometimes into company where Luther was talked about, he should be glad to know what kind of man he was. The priest replied that he could show at least a hundred errors in his books. Luther pressed him to point them out; and as the priest seemed reluctant, said he would be content with two or even one out of the hundred; for though he was a knight, yet he had read somewhat in his youth, and always found that Luther supported his positions by quotations from the Scriptures, and especially from Paul. The priest was at a loss for an answer and began to look abashed; but Luther's companion, fearing that the matter would go too far, ordered the horses to be saddled, and insisted on his resuming his journey.

When he arrived at Wittenberg his best friends could not recognise him in his disguise. To humour the joke, Dr. Justus Jonas, to whose house he had gone, sent for the goldsmith, Christian, and the painter, Lucas Cranach; the first was to make a gold chain for a strange young nobleman, the latter to paint his portrait. It was not till Luther answered Lucas's question, whether the painting was to be in oil or water-colours, that the latter recognised him by his voice. Great, no doubt, was the joy of his friends at Wittenberg that night at finding Luther again amongst them, whom they had all given up for lost.

The Anabaptists.—In the year 1529 the Anabaptists committed the wildest excesses in St. Gall, Bâle, Stuttgart, and Erfurt. In the last mentioned of these cities a man named Nicol formed a society, the members of which used to ask every passenger whom they met in the streets, "Is that coat thine?" The unsuspecting victim would naturally answer "Yes;" whereupon the fanatics murdered him, and, stripping off his coat, shouted out, "You lie, it is ours." In some places these crazy enthusiasts believed that they were in Paradise, and threw off their clothes as

a superfluous encumbrance. Others thought that they were little children, and rode about on hobby-horses and broomsticks. One woman was starved to death because she deemed herself too spiritual to partake of earthly food. After playing these pranks for some months, Nicol, the leader of the Erfurt sect, was taken, hanged and quartered; and one Baden of Stuttgart, who pretended to be the Messiah, was torn with red-hot pincers, and afterwards beheaded. In 1533 these fanatics again caused great disturbances. The town of Münster, in Westphalia, had declared itself favourable to the Reformation, and in 1527 rose against their bishop, who immediately quitted the city. One of the ring-leaders in this insurrection, Bernard Rothmann, a preacher of the Reformed Church, hoped to procure the powerful aid of Luther; but the latter declared himself an enemy to all political revolutions, and Rothmann, disgusted at this reproof, threw himself into the arms of the Anabaptists, of whom a great number had come to Münster to avoid persecution in the Netherlands. Among these were a tailor from Leyden, named John Bockelson, and John Matthison, a baker from Haarlem, who declared that they were commissioned by the Almighty to take the command of his servants. Matthison, who in his mad enthusiasm had gone out alone to meet the enemy's army, having been slain by their advanced guard, John of Leyden, in conjunction with Knipperdolling, a rich draper, became leader of the insurgents. The new chief commenced his proceedings by running stark naked about the streets, screaming, "The King of Zion is come;" whilst his lieutenant, Knipperdolling, not willing to be outdone, shouted out, "Every high place shall be brought low," and instantly the mob pulled down all the steeples of the city. As the number of females who flocked to Münster was six times greater than that of the men, John proposed a plurality of wives, and himself set the example by taking seventeen. Men and women all ate together at a public table, and all were required to labour according to their strength, without respect of persons. This state of things had not gone on long when a new prophet, one Dusentschuer, declared it to be the will of God that John of Leyden should reign over all the earth: accordingly he was proclaimed by his followers, and took the title of "King of Righteousness." His first care was to put the city in a state of defence against the bishop and his allies. On the walls stood boys between the men, and shot their arrows with deadly effect, whilst the women poured

down melted pitch and lime on the heads of the besiegers. But famine soon showed itself in the garrison, and it was deemed necessary to drive out all the women and old men, in order to husband as long as possible the small stock of provisions that remained. Elizabeth, one of John of Leyden's wives, having upbraided him with his cruelty in suffering the people to starve, whilst he himself was living in luxury, the madman struck off her head, and then danced round her body with his other wives. At length the city was stormed, and most of the Anabaptists put to the sword. John of Leyden and Knipperdolling were cruelly tortured, and their half-burnt bodies hung up in cages, where they perished miserably. A reaction now took place; and it is worthy of remark that Münster ever since that time has been one of the most bigoted Popish cities in Europe.

Götz von Berlichingen, the knight with the iron hand.—Godfrey, or, as he is familiarly called, Götz, of Berlichingen, was born at Jaxthausen in Würtemberg, where his family had been established since the tenth century. The memoirs of his life, written by himself during his seclusion in the castle of Hornberg, exhibit a curious picture of the state of society in those unsettled times, when the most chivalrous and high-spirited nobles were wont to return solemn thanks to the Almighty for the success of exploits which in our days of civilization and police would render them fitting candidates for the gallows. At an early age Godfrey was sent to school; but he seems to have remained there a very short time, "for to own the truth," he writes, "I never had any very great taste for learning; and as father, mother, brethren, and sisters, with all the men and maidens of our household, were always telling me that I was destined to be a hero—a hero I was determined to become." Accordingly he entered the service of his cousin Conrad as page, and three years later (A.D. 1496) having closed the eyes of his patron, at Lindau on the Lake of Constance, he became a retainer of the Margrave Frederick of Brandenburg, in whose household he continued to reside until the year 1499, when his father's death recalled him to Jaxthausen. In 1504 we find him at the siege of Landshut, skirmishing with great bravery under the walls of the fortress. "I was so busily engaged," he writes, "in exchanging blows with the enemy (for being a young soldier, and having a reputation to gain, I fought in good earnest) as scarcely to observe that the garrison had opened a heavy fire upon friend and foe indiffer-

ently ; until a grating, jarring sensation in my right arm and the fall of the lance from my hand told me very plainly that I was wounded. On examination, I found that a cannon ball had struck the hilt of my sword, which it had forced through my armour with such violence as to dislodge three of the iron plates, and crush my wrist in so ghastly a manner, that when I afterwards removed the gauntlet, my hand came away with it, being only held by a slight sinew. I have already mentioned that the lance fell from my hand, and wonderful it has since appeared to me, that I did not also lose my seat and fall to the ground ; but by God's mercy I retained my senses until a comrade led me out of the battle and procured a surgeon to dress my wounds. Since that time I have worn a hand of iron, with which, for sixty years, I have wielded a lance and done good service in divers skirmishes with mine enemies, as well as in the capture of sundry bales of goods, which it hath pleased Divine Providence to place within



Tower at Heilbronn, in which Götz von Berlichingen was shut up by the Citizens, A.D. 1518

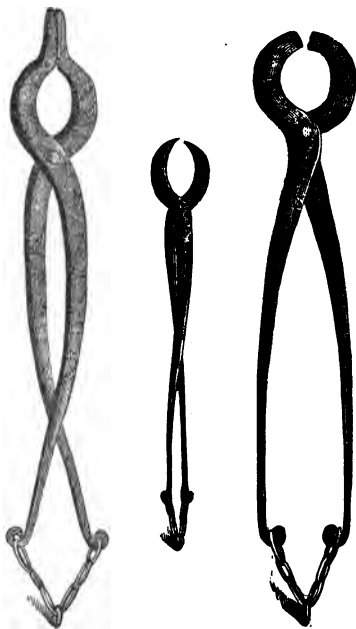
my reach." Fourteen years after this disaster, Götz, now a powerful baron, declared war against the town of Heilbronn,* but being overpowered by the citizens, he was confined for four years in a strong building which still retains the name of the Thief's, or Götz's tower ; and was only released at last after paying a

* This declaration of deadly feud (Fehdebrief), drawn up in the form usual in those days, is preserved in the town-hall of Heilbronn.

ransom of 2000 florins. In the year 1525 he headed the peasants in their ill-concerted and disastrous insurrection, and after the defeat of his party was compelled to pledge his word of honour never again to disturb the peace of the Empire. The remainder of his life was passed in retirement at his castle of Hornberg, where he died on the 23rd July, 1562.

The adventures of Götz of Berlichingen have been dramatized by Goethe.

Storm of Rome by Frundsberg's Troops.—As soon as the army entered Rome, the wildest scenes were enacted. The Lutheran troopers dressed themselves up as cardinals, and rode on donkeys through the streets. One William von Sandizell assumed the papal garb, and with the triple crown on his head, and a full glass of wine in his right hand, pronounced a mock blessing over these mummers, who knelt before him and did homage, whilst the rabble of soldiery raised a general cry, "We will have Luther for our Pope!" and all held up their hands and shouted "Long live Pope Luther!"

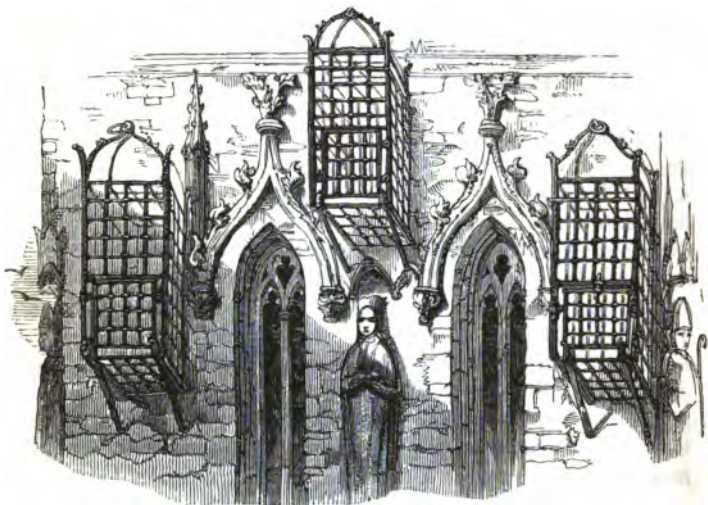


Pincers with which the Anabaptists were tortured. Preserved in the Town Hall at Münster.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE DIET OF AUGSBURG.

A.D. 1530.



Cages of the Anabaptists, attached to the Tower of St. Lambert's Church, Münster.

THE diet was opened on the 18th of June, 1530, by the Emperor in person, who came prepared to take a decided part against the Protestants, as he had done at Worms: Luther, being under the ban of the Empire as well as of the Pope, could not appear. Even Charles himself must have been struck by the different aspect presented by these two diets, though separated only by the short interval of nine years. In that of Worms a poor monk had stood up alone for his tenets; but now he saw some of the chief princes and cities of his empire proclaiming their adherence to the same cause. On the first day of their session the following proclamation was read by the Emperor's private secretary, Alexander Schwaiz:—"All complaints which the temporal estates have against the spiritual, and contrariwise, all which the spiritual have against the temporal, they are hereby invited to draw up in Latin and German, which shall be placed in the hands of the Emperor, in order that his Majesty may take such measures as

shall seem to him good for the settlement of the same." The assembly was then adjourned to the 24th, when the Pope's legate appeared, and in a long Latin oration called on the states of the Empire to unite in resisting the Turks, the hereditary enemies of Christendom; and, addressing himself particularly to the Protestants, implored them no longer to persist in their separation from the church, but to stand by her still, as they had done in days of yore. The Protestant princes then demanded that the confession of their faith, drawn up with great care and ability by Melancthon, should be publicly read. This was granted, but only on condition that the reading should take place, not in the great hall of session, but in a chapel of the Bishop's palace, which was daily used by the Emperor and his court for the celebration of divine service, and that the assembly should be held at three o'clock in the morning. The reason for choosing this place and hour was evident. The chapel holding only about 200 persons, it was hoped that none but the principal personages of the Empire would hear the reading. But God ordered it otherwise; for the excessive heat having forced those within to open the windows, the crowd who stood around the chapel heard every word distinctly; and it was calculated that at least a thousand persons had thus an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the real tenets of the reformers. The Emperor having ascended his throne, two Saxons, Dr. Christian Beyer and Dr. George Brück, came forward, the one holding a Latin, the other a German copy of the Articles. Charles, who understood German but indifferently, wished to have the Latin document read; but the Elector of Saxony, rising from his seat and making a low reverence, addressed him thus:—"Sire, we are here on German ground; I therefore intreat your Majesty that this confession of our faith may be read in our beloved mother-tongue, that all may know what our tenets are, and that henceforward we may be no more likened to the heathen, who know not God." The Emperor being unable to refuse this reasonable request, Beyer, in a voice so loud and clear that not a word was lost to the assembled crowd, began the reading; and as he proceeded, the falsehood of those charges which men had heard brought against Luther's teaching, as being a device of the devil, worse than the blasphemies of the worst heathen, became apparent to the people, who now began to understand that the reformers had never spoken against any part of Christ's doctrine, but only against the abuses in the church.

The Confession condemned the errors of the Anabaptists as well as those of Rome. The more remarkable principles asserted were:—That men are justified by faith alone; that an assembly of true believers constitutes the church; that it is not necessary that forms and ceremonies should be everywhere the same; that preaching, the sacraments, and infant baptism are necessary; that Christ is really present in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; that that sacrament should be received by the laity in both kinds; that the doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass is erroneous; that monastic vows, fasting, pilgrimages, the invocation of saints, &c., are useless; and that the marriage of priests is to be allowed. After the Confession was read, many were heard to exclaim, "It is reasonable that these abuses should be punished and done away with: the Lutherans are right, for our spiritual lords have carried it with too high a hand." In the assembly itself the effect was scarcely less striking. The Bishop of Augsburg did not scruple to declare that what he had heard was only the truth, and could not be gainsaid. The imperial secretary, Cornelius Sceppen, spoke out still more plainly. "If," said he, "the Lutherans had money, they might easily buy free exercise for their religion from the Pope; but without gold they must not hope that their light will ever shine before the world." The reading being concluded, Beyer handed the two copies to the Emperor, who took the Latin one and gave the other to the Archbishop of Mentz. Then the Count Palatine Frederick informed the states, in the name of the Emperor, that his Imperial Majesty had listened with attention to the document which had just been read, and would act seriously and impartially in the matter. Meanwhile he called on the members of the diet to prevent any premature disclosure of this confession through the press. The states having promised to attend to this recommendation, Charles rose and dismissed the assembly. But before the diet was finally dissolved it issued a decree, at the instance of the papal nuncio, Campeggio, by which most of the Protestant tenets were condemned, and persons enjoined not to tolerate or harbour such as taught them; whilst at the same time a strict observance of the established rites was commanded, and any further innovation prohibited under severe penalties. A promise was subjoined that the Pope should be required to call a general council within six months, for the purpose of settling the controversies by which the church was disturbed.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Melancthon.—Philip Melancthon was born on the 16th of February, 1497, at Bretten, in the Palatinate of the Rhine. At an early age he received both from his father and mother strong religious impressions; and was especially distinguished by his abilities and the facility with which he acquired the learned languages. After the fashion of that age, he changed his German name of Schwarzerd (*black earth*) for its Greek synonyme Melancthon; and in the year 1510 entered at the university of Heidelberg, and subsequently at Tübingen, where he took the degree of Master of Arts, and gave lectures on Greek and Latin literature. That his acquirements were of no mean order may be inferred from the commendations of Erasmus, himself the most accomplished scholar of that day, who speaks of him as a man of uncommon reading, exact knowledge of classical antiquity, and one who wrote with elegance and good taste. In 1518 Melancthon accepted an invitation to fill the Greek chair at Wittenberg, where he distinguished himself, as he had done at Tübingen, by his profound learning, eloquent and popular style of lecturing, and above all by the candour and gentleness of his disposition. These qualities rendered him a valuable colleague to Luther in carrying on the work of the Reformation; for the mild remonstrances of Melancthon often healed wounds which Luther's rough treatment would have rendered incurable. The first wish of his heart was to purify the church from its corruptions: but he felt more acutely than his colleague the evils of schism and dissension among Christians; and would therefore have given up many points which he considered of minor importance, if he could by such a concession have prevented the separation of the Protestants from the church of Rome, and subsequently the rupture between the Lutherans and Zwinglians. Yet, gentle and conciliatory as he was, none made a firmer stand than he against the decision of the council of Spires in 1529, and his "Confession of Augsburg" spread his fame throughout Europe, and procured him invitations both from Francis I. of France and Henry VIII. of England: but he declined both, and continued to reside in Germany until his death, which took place at Wittenberg on the 19th of April, 1560. His last prayers were for the unity of the church. The friendship between him and Luther was never broken, although they differed on so many points, and

Luther's rough manner of treating those who disagreed with him must have sorely tried the patience of one so refined and gentle as Melancthon. Besides drawing up the Confession of Augsburg, he addressed, by command of the Elector, an instruction to the visitors of the Saxon churches, respecting the doctrines to be taught, and the caution to be observed in altering the ancient usages and ceremonies of the church.

Pantomime of the Reformation.—One day during the Emperor's residence at Augsburg, whilst he was at dinner with several Roman Catholic princes, some comedians were announced, who, according to the custom of those times, asked permission to divert the company. First entered an old man clothed in a doctor's robes, who advanced with tottering steps under the load of a bundle of faggots, some straight, some crooked, which he threw down in the middle of the hall. As he turned to depart, there was seen on his back the name of *John Reuchlin*. A more vivacious personage now appeared, who picked up some of the straight and crooked billets, and took wonderful pains to make them fit together; but finding all his efforts unavailing, shook his head, shrugged his shoulders, and departed. His back exhibited the name of *Erasmus*. When he was gone, a monk advanced of a bold mien and fiery eye, carrying some live coals in an iron vessel. Having arranged the wood, he set it on fire, and blew and fanned it till the crackling flames mounted high; on perceiving which he withdrew, and showed the name of *Martin Luther*. Next approached a man with majestic step, and clothed in all the pomp and splendour of the pontifical robes, who, on perceiving the fire, clasped his hands together in terror, and looked about for something wherewith to put it out. At the end of the hall were two vessels, one filled with water, the other with oil. He seizes one in haste, and pours the contents on the fire; but unluckily it proved to be the oil-jar, and the flames now mount to such a height that the pontiff, alarmed at what he has done, runs away in affright. On his back was seen the name of *Leo X.*, whose bans and excommunications had only increased the conflagration which they were intended to extinguish. Lastly, a magnificent personage appeared, covered with all the imperial ensigns, who, on perceiving the violence of the fire, drew his sword and began to cut and thrust at it, in order to extinguish it; but the more he thrust, the more the fire blazed, till at last, in despair and vexation, he gave the matter up, and walked off in haste. No name ap-

peared upon his back, but probably Charles V. and his guests had not much difficulty in making the application. The little drama was now ended ; but the pretended comedians, instead of waiting for a reward, had made their escape as quickly as possible.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

LEAGUE OF SCHMALKALDEN. — COUNCIL OF TRENT.

From A.D. 1531 to 1545.



Albert of Brandenburg.

THE conduct of the Emperor at Augsburg had convinced the Protestants that in future they must look only to themselves for support. Even Luther no longer scrupled to preach that a war against Charles V. was a holy war, and urged his party to take up arms in defence of their religion. Accordingly, in the month of March, 1531, the dukes John of Saxony, Philip of Hesse,

Ernest and Francis of Brunswick, Wolfgang of Anhalt, the Counts of Mansfeld, and the cities of Strasburg, Ulm, Constance, Reutlingen, Memmingen, Lindau, Biberach, Isni, Lübeck, Magdeburgh, Bremen, &c., entered into a defensive league at Schmalkalden, a little town in the province of Fulda. Bavaria soon joined them, and France was about to follow her example, when the vehement remonstrances of Luther against the foreign alliance saved the Protestants from this disgrace. "Such a compact," he said, "would be an unbearable burden on our consciences, and must be followed by bitter repentance. And thereby it may well happen that the Empire shall be distracted, and it and the Gospel and all go to wreck together. We have a goodly work in hand, but God alone must and will uphold it." The Protestants having abandoned the French alliance, were now inclined to come to terms with the Emperor, who on his part received their overtures favourably, being anxious to obtain assistance against the Turks. Accordingly, in 1532, what is called the Religious Peace was concluded at Nürnberg, the Emperor engaging to allow freedom of conscience to the Protestants, in return for the aid which they were to afford him in the Turkish war. Meanwhile the Turks had been rendering themselves formidable by sea, and had established settlements on the northern coast of Africa under the protection of the Sultan, who appointed the pirate chief Haraddin Barbarossa to be Capudan Pasha, or High Admiral of his fleets. Under this commander the new settlers stormed Tunis, and hovering round the coast of Italy, captured all the Christians who fell in their way. On receiving intelligence of these proceedings the Emperor despatched a fleet to the coast of Africa under the command of a Genoese admiral named Andrew Doria, who carried the fortress of Goletta at the first assault, whilst Charles himself at the head of thirty thousand men attacked the land forces of Barbarossa, and entering Tunis in triumph, liberated twenty-two thousand Christians, who had been languishing for years in the dungeons of that city. In the year 1539 Charles, with a want of prudence which reminds us of Louis XI.'s visit to the Duke of Burgundy, passed through the dominions of his great rival Francis I. on his way to visit Henry VIII. of England. One of his Spanish counsellors had warned him in no very courtly terms of the danger to which he was exposing himself: "If your majesty," said this plain-spoken adviser, "attempts to pass through France, you will commit a great act of folly; if Francis suffer

you to do so without molestation, he will be guilty of a greater.” “In good sooth, mine honest friend,” replied the Emperor with a smile, “I believe that Francis is a greater fool than I.” His anticipations were realized; for Francis not only refused to arrest him, in spite of the solicitations of his subjects, but entertained him with princely magnificence. When Francis showed Charles all the royal jewels and treasures in Paris, the latter remarked, “I have a weaver (Fugger) in Augsburg who could pay ready money for all that.” The previous year a “holy alliance” of the Romanists had been formed to oppose the league of Schmalkalden, which had been several times renewed since its first establishment in 1531. The final settlement of their religious disputes was to be referred to a general council which the Pope had hitherto been unwilling to summon. Now, however, the favourable moment for such a proceeding seemed to have arrived; for the Lutherans, disgusted at the Emperor’s duplicity, had abandoned the field to their adversaries, whom they refused to meet at all unless the council were held on their own side the Alps, and the Pope would consent to appear before it, not as a judge, but as one of the contending parties. In consequence of this refusal a council composed entirely of Romanists was summoned to meet at Trent in the Tyrol, and solemnly opened by the Pope in the month of December, 1545.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XXXIX.

Doria.—Andrew Doria was born at Oneglia, near Genoa, in the year 1466. After fighting for many years under the banners of different princes, he entered the service of Francis I., who made him commander of the French fleet in the Mediterranean. Subsequently Doria quarrelled with the French on account of their tyrannical proceedings, and took service with the Emperor Charles V., who agreed to pay him 90,000 ducats a year for the use of twelve Genoese galleys. Having succeeded in driving the French out of Genoa, Doria, under the auspices of the Emperor, framed a constitution for that city; and after distinguishing himself in several engagements with the Turks, died full of years and honours at his palace in Genoa, in November, 1560.

CHAPTER XL.

DEATH AND FUNERAL OF MARTIN LUTHER.

A.D. 1546.



Portrait of Luther after his Death, taken by his friend Lucas Cranach.

DURING the progress of events recorded in our last chapter, old age and chronic disease of a painful and incurable character had been gradually wasting the strength of Martin Luther; yet he went on labouring with unabated zeal, although he became every day less capable of enduring fatigue. The summer before his death he had retired to the estate of Zöllsdorf, near Borna, in the hope of being permitted to enjoy the repose which he so much needed; but the University of Wittenberg had prevailed on the Elector to urge his return; and Luther, unwilling to offend his kind patron, immediately obeyed. Even here he was not allowed to remain long; for the Count of Mansfeld, who had on a former occasion rejected Luther's mediation, now wrote to urge his immediate appearance at Eisleben. Accordingly, on the 13th January, 1546, the Reformer set out on his last journey; and on

the 17th writes thus to his friend Dr. Propst of Bremen :—" A man old and cold and rotten and one-eyed writeth unto thee. I, who had thought that I might now be suffered to rest in peace, am as much overwhelmed with writing and speaking, and doing and settling, as if I had never written, or spoken, or done, or settled anything in my life before." He writes to his wife on the 25th January—" Grace and peace in the Lord ! Dearest Kate ! We reached Halle at eight o'clock, but could not get on to Eisleben ; for there met us a great Anabaptist with waves and lumps of ice which covered the land and threatened us with a second baptism. So we were fain to stop at Halle, watch the waters, and lie snug till they had abated. Not that we had any desire to drink the same ; but took good strong beer and good Rhenish wine instead, and consoled ourselves therewith until the Saale thought fit to subside. For inasmuch as both the boatmen and ourselves were somewhat fearful, we thought it not good to commit ourselves to the waves and tempt God : for the devil is wroth with us, and dwelleth in the waters ; and prevention is better than lamentation ; and there is no need to give the Pope and his rabble a fool's jubilee. * * * * So no more at present. Pray for us and serve God. If you had been here I think you would have advised us to do as we have done, and for once we should have followed your advice. God bless you. Amen."

The fatigue of this journey, undertaken at an unfavourable season of the year, was severely felt by Luther's worn-out, feeble body ; yet he rallied after a time, and found himself strong enough to preach four times at Eisleben. The fourth of these sermons was the last that he ever delivered. On the 14th of February he wrote again to his wife—" To the hands of my kind, loving housewife, Catherine Luther of Bora, at Wittenberg, these. Grace and peace in the Lord ! Dear Kate ! We hope this week to be at home again, if God will. God hath shown great mercies here, for my lords have made all smooth, except two or three articles, one of which is that the two brethren Count Gerard and Count Albert should again live as brethren : which matter I shall care for to-day ; and will bid them to my lodging, that they may speak together ; for as yet they have been dumb, and only grieved one another with their writings. For the rest, my young lords be merry, and my young ladies also ride together in sledges with jingling bells, and have their mummeries, and are right content together, and Count Gerard's son

likewise ;—so one may by this understand that God is a hearer of prayer. I send some trout which Countess Albert hath given unto me. She rejoiceth from her heart at the united state of the families. Your boys are still at Mansfeld—Jacob Luther will take care of them. We eat and drink like lords here, and are waited upon bravely—and all too bravely : enough to make us forget you at Wittenberg. My old complaint doth not trouble me now. Here is come a report that Dr. Martin is carried off ; as the story goes at Leipzig and Magdeburg. The busybodies, your countrymen, have invented this ; but let them say and sing : we will wait God's pleasure. To him I commend you." Two days after he had written this letter, his weakness increased so rapidly, and was accompanied by such an access of asthma and feeling of suffocation, that his friends entreated him to allow himself a few days' rest. In the evening he forced himself, ill as he was, to sit at table with his sons and Dr. Jonas ; and the discourse turning on the meeting of friends in another world, Luther spoke with a deep feeling, which seemed to arise from the conviction that the hour of his own departure was at hand. Having gone to his chamber, to pray that God would give him strength to support the last struggle, the near approach of which was becoming every moment more evident, he felt a sharper pain in his chest than he had ever experienced before : but a restorative draught being administered, he was enabled to lie down and take a little rest. To his friends, who wished him good night, he said, " Pray to our Lord God that it may go well with his Gospel, for the Pope and his council at Trent are thrusting sore at it." Before he lay down he repeated in Latin, " Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit ; for thou hast redeemed me, O Lord, thou God of truth." Soon afterwards he said, " My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death." " Reverende Pater," said Cœlius (Pastor of Eisleben), " call on our Lord Jesus Christ, our high-priest, the only mediator. You are sweating plentifully. God will vouchsafe his mercy that you may be better." " It is the cold sweat of death," replied Luther. " O my heavenly Father ! God eternal and most merciful ! whom I have known, whom I love, whom I honour as my dear Saviour and Redeemer, whom the godless persecute and shamefully entreat and revile, take my poor soul unto thyself." Then he repeated in Latin " Into thy hands I commend my spirit.—God so loved the world that He gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever

believeth on Him should not perish, but have everlasting life." The Countess of Mansfeld then rubbed spirits on his hands and forehead, which revived him a little; so that when Justus Jonas addressed him in these words—"Beloved Father! do you acknowledge Christ, the son of God, our Redeemer?"—he answered, "Yes," with a voice so strong, that all in the room heard him: and then folding his hands, drew one deep sigh, and died between two and three o'clock on the morning of the 17th of February. "This," concludes Jonas (from whose letter to the Elector this account is taken), "most gracious prince and lord, have I the next hour, as in duty bound (although we, his poor disciples for five and twenty years, are sore troubled at the event), written in all haste, and given your grace to know the same. With regard to the funeral, we humbly pray that your grace will signify your pleasure, and write also concerning it to our lord the Count. Although my good lords would rejoice to have him buried here, yet they submit entirely to your gracious will. May our Almighty Father, which is in heaven, comfort your grace and all of us, whom this bereavement hath sorely afflicted. I also entreat your grace to write letters of condolence to his poor wife, and to the Doctors Bugenhagen and Cruziger,—the which your grace understandeth how to do better than we can suggest." This letter was forwarded to Weimar with such speed, that the Elector received it the next day. The same messenger bore also a letter for the Count of Mansfeld, to whom the Elector writes in reply—"I have received with a deeply-grieved and troubled spirit, the news of Dr. Martin's death. I desire that you would allow his body to be conveyed to Wittenberg, that it may be buried in the castle church there. I cannot help adding I could have wished that you had not worried the old worn-out man with your troublesome affairs." The Count replied, "that they were deeply grieved at the good man's death, as doubtless all well-thinking Christian folks were. They had, it is true, wished to retain in their own dominions the body of one so gifted by God, and so highly honoured; but since the Elector desired to possess it, they would send it to his grace."

The day before this letter was written, two painters had drawn the portrait of the deceased; and on the 19th the body was placed in a tin coffin (an honour hitherto allowed only to the highest nobles), and borne at two o'clock in the afternoon into the church of St. Andrew, followed by the Counts and a great

concourse of people. Ten citizens watched the body during the night, a funeral discourse having been previously pronounced over it by Dr. Jonas. The next day Cœlius occupied the pulpit, and preached a very affecting sermon, in which he described the last moments of Luther, as one who had himself stood by his death-bed. "The corpse of Dr. Martin," concluded the good man, "will be laid in the earth, and planted like a grain of wheat, that at the coming of Christ it may spring up, and rise with honour and joy into everlasting glory." At one o'clock the body was removed on its way to Wittenberg, the Counts of Mansfeld and all the inhabitants without exception attending it as far as the gates of Eisleben. In every village through which the procession passed, the bells were tolled, and men, women, and children flocked around it to display their sympathy. About five o'clock it was received in the neighbourhood of Halle by a crowd of citizens and their wives with loud cries and lamentations. So great was the throng that the procession was often obliged to halt, and did not reach the city until half-past six, when the body was deposited in the church of the Blessed Virgin. "Here," says an eye-witness of the scene, "we endeavoured to raise the funeral psalm, 'De Profundis,' 'Out of the depths have I cried unto thee;' but so heavy was our grief, that the words were rather wept than sung. The body remained in the sacristy until the next morning, when it was conveyed out of the town, the bells of all the churches tolling as the procession passed. The two Counts of Mansfeld accompanied it to the Elster gate of Wittenberg, where it arrived on the 22nd of February, and was received by the rector and professors of the university, the town-council, and the citizens. The preachers and school children walked before the body, singing a suitable hymn. In front of the procession rode the Commissioners of the Elector, in all sixty-five horse, and after the coffin came in a little carriage the widow of the deceased with some female friends, her two sons, his brother Jacob, and the two sons of his sister. Then followed the rector, with several young princes and nobles, students of the university. After these walked Melancthon, Justus Jonas, and other notables of the university, the town-council, and the great body of the students. The citizens and many of their wives and children closed the funeral train, filling the air with their lamentations. As soon as the body was deposited in the church, some hymns were sung, and Bugenhagen ascended the pulpit, but was

so choked by sobs that he could hardly utter a word. The sermon was succeeded by a Latin oration, delivered by Melancthon, who spoke of the zeal with which Luther had propagated his doctrines, of the opposition and obloquy to which he had been exposed, and of the good service which he had rendered to the church by translating the Bible into German, and by his commentaries on the word of God. "The deaths of illustrious men," continued the speaker, "are generally tokens of great public calamities. We are threatened by the Turks from without, and within are unquiet spirits at work, seeking to corrupt the purity of our faith; and now about to act without fear, since the mighty arm of Luther can no longer smite. That God may avert these evils from us, let us fashion our lives and studies the more carefully; remembering that as long as we hold the evangelical faith in its purity, hear, learn, and love, we shall remain the temples and dwellings of God." All the preparations having been completed, ten masters of arts advanced to the coffin, and raising it on their shoulders, bore to the grave all that now remained on earth of the renowned champion of Protestantism—Martin Luther.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XL.

Character of Luther.—That the leader of so great a revolution as the religious reformation of the sixteenth century should have been variously judged can excite no surprise. To those, however, who approach the subject with candour and impartiality, the character of Luther presents but little difficulty. Whatever his faults, hypocrisy at least was not one of them. Few men who have played so great a part in the world have taken so little pains to conceal their motives and opinions.

Luther's share in the Reformation has perhaps been exaggerated. Like other popular leaders, he merely gave utterance and action to the spirit of his age. The times produced Luther, not Luther the times. Wiclif, Huss, and many others had already sounded the note of warning, and, even in the more decisive progress of the sixteenth century, Zwingli accompanied, if he did not anticipate, the steps of Luther. We naturally, however, regard as the authors of all such movements those who have resolution and energy enough to step forward and brave the dangers which accompany them; and if any praise be due to such conduct, Luther is pre-eminently entitled to it. On the courage which he dis-

played in heading the Reformation it were needless to dilate; it is manifest from the mere recital of his actions, and is indeed acknowledged even by his enemies. His detractors have with more plausibility attacked the source of that courage; and, if it be any demerit, it must be acknowledged that Luther was animated with an enthusiasm which sometimes bordered on fanaticism. A morbid and constitutional melancholy, combined with a deep religious feeling, caused him to regard himself as the chosen instrument of the Almighty in the great work of the Reformation; and this persuasion sometimes led him into acts of violence and intolerance, as well as into an insolence of language, which cannot be defended, though it may in some degree be excused, by the manners of the age in which he lived. We must reflect, however, that great reforms have seldom been achieved by men of undeviating mildness and moderation; and that though Luther's conduct was occasionally violent and overbearing, his motives were uniformly pure and disinterested. He was stimulated neither by self-interest nor by the lust of power. He never rose above the station of a Wittenberg professor, which he attained before he began his career as a reformer; and in his last will he congratulates himself that, notwithstanding his very moderate income, he had managed to keep out of debt, and to leave a small property to his wife. It should also be borne in mind that, however great the reformation he achieved, he was by principle a supporter of legitimate authority; that he was no innovator merely for the sake of change; and that he departed more slowly and reluctantly than any other eminent reformer from the rites and doctrines of the Established Church. For the excesses and extravagances to which the Reformation sometimes led, he cannot be justly considered accountable.

The more specific charges which have been brought against Luther are principally two—the violation of his monastic vows by his marriage, and the sanction which he gave to the bigamy of the Landgrave of Hesse. The former of these carries but little weight. If just, it would apply with equal force to all the other observances of monkery as to that of celibacy, and would involve the necessity of Luther's retaining his frock and his begging wallet, and shutting himself up in his cell for life. But, having arrived at the just conviction that such vows are not only idle and superstitious, but also positively wicked and unholy, he was perfectly justified in regarding them as null and void. The

other charge admits not of so satisfactory an answer. The sanctioning of the Landgrave's double marriage was a sacrifice of principle to expediency which suited the policy of the moment, but which we are shocked to see perpetrated by the leader of a great religious movement.

If we turn from the public to the private life of Luther, we find only subject for unmixed approbation. Pure in his morals and disinterested in his conduct, he was a stedfast friend, an affectionate husband, a kind and indulgent father. He had no sour and ascetic feelings, but was a promoter of the innocent pleasures of domestic life. He loved his garden and his flowers, sympathized with the recreations of his friends, and the infantine amusements of his children. He was not averse to the moderate enjoyments of the table. He loved good Eimbeck beer and Rhenish wine; but his indulgence in these luxuries, never pushed to excess, only stimulated him to pour out before his table-companions those stores of household wisdom which have seldom been equalled either in extent or value.

CHAPTER XLI.

SCHMALKALDIAN WAR.—BATTLE OF MÜHLBERG.—THE PROTESTANT PARTY BROKEN UP.

A.D. 1546-7.



The Elector John Frederick of Saxony.

FRANCE had been humbled, England gained over, and the Sultan conciliated by the cession of Hungary ; the Pope and Emperor had therefore undisturbed leisure to pursue their designs against the Protestants. The former had taken into his pay, in 1540, a newly-founded order of Spanish monks, called the Jesuits, whom he secretly instructed to apply with all diligence the machinery of their system to the extirpation of heresy. The watchword of this order was, "The end sanctifies the means." They first appeared at the Council of Trent, and have ever since played a conspicuous part in the politics of Europe. At the same time the Pope prepared a new bull to be launched against the Protes-

tants when the proper moment should arrive. The Emperor on his part was unwilling to employ force as long as there was any hope of success from treachery. At the Diet of Ratisbon, in 1546, he declared that those Protestant princes who refused to recognise the authority of the Council of Trent, which was now sitting, should be treated as rebellious vassals : but at the same time gave them to understand that this proclamation had no reference to religious matters ; he only wished for peace and order, and was therefore determined to enforce obedience to himself as their temporal lord—but nothing further. But, lest the Pope should take fright at this display of candour, he made at the same time a secret compact with Rome, that, should a war break out, he would do his best to extirpate the Lutheran heresy. The Pope was too shrewd to be deceived by this promise, and displayed his own proficiency in Italian tactics by publishing to all the world the agreement which he had promised to keep secret. The Protestants saw at once that they were betrayed : and the Emperor, perceiving the failure of this plan, devised another. In the hope of sowing dissensions among the Protestants, he placed none of their princes under this ban except the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse. There happened to be among them at this time a drunken savage named Albert of Culmbach, whose excesses had reduced him to a state of almost childish imbecility. With this worthy, and Joachim II. of Brandenburg, who had been always a lukewarm supporter of the Protestant cause, Charles now formed a secret compact ; and, in order to infuse some portion of respectability into the mass, added the name of Maurice of Saxe Thuringia, a young prince of great promise, who had distinguished himself against the Turks, and was now anxious to supersede his more powerful but less intelligent cousin the Elector of Saxony. These compacts were not made so secretly but that the Protestants suspected what was going on ; and their surmises, added to the proscription of two of their princes by the Emperor and the Pope's bull, roused them to fury. The brave Schertlin, who had taken Rome by storm in 1527, assembled an army in the pay of the city of Augsburg and the other towns of Upper Germany ; the Landgrave Philip exulted that blood was at last to flow ; and the Elector of Saxony, old as he was, and so corpulent that he could scarcely mount a horse, prepared once more to lead his troops into the field. In the month of August, 1546, an army of Protestants, 47,000 strong, had assembled in Upper Germany ; and nothing

would have been easier than to surprise the Emperor, who lay at Ratisbon with a garrison of only 9000 men. But this the allies refused, on the plea that they had no right to enter the dominions of William of Bavaria, who observed, or pretended to observe, a strict neutrality. "Philip," says Schertlin, in his 'Memoirs of his Own Time,' "would not bite the fox: every ford and brook was too deep for him, and every morass too broad. And yet," he adds, "hath Duke William observed a one-sided neutrality, supplied our enemies with provisions, and employed all sorts of devices to delay us—but the Landgrave would not follow me: nor will he let me attack them single-handed; but opposes me tooth and nail, crying out that I went to seduce the troops and so forth." The Protestants therefore contented themselves with bombarding Ratisbon from a distance, and then retired for the purpose of intercepting the Count of Büren, who was advancing to join the Emperor with a reinforcement of 15,000 men; but this general eluded them and entered the town. In the following year, on the 24th of April, the Emperor, reinforced by Prince Maurice, surprised the Elector of Saxony at Mühlberg, where the Protestants had secured themselves, as they supposed, against any sudden attack by destroying the bridge over the Elbe: but a miller whose horses had been stolen by some of the Elector's soldiers, showed the imperialists a ford at which the whole army crossed the river and attacked the Saxons. John Frederick, who was surprised by the imperialists while listening to a sermon, made a gallant defence as long as any hope remained, and then quitting the carriage, in which, on account of his excessive corpulence, he had been compelled to sit during the engagement, he mounted a horse and fled with the remnant of his army towards Wittenberg; but the heavy charger, which had been selected on account of its clumsy strength rather than its swiftness or power of endurance, after galloping with tolerable speed for a few hundred yards, became blown just as the imperialists appeared advancing rapidly in pursuit; then rallying a little, the generous animal bore its rider forwards as long as its strength lasted, and finally broke down altogether at the heath of Lochau. Here the Elector rallied his men, and prepared for an action with sufficient skill and presence of mind: taking advantage of a forest to cover his wings and prevent them from being surrounded by the enemy's cavalry. Although neither the imperial artillery nor the greater part of the infantry had yet come up, Charles, by the advice of the Duke of Alva, commanded the attack

to be made at once by the Spanish and Neapolitan cavalry, who charged the Saxons so impetuously that they were soon thrown into confusion. During this struggle the personal appearance of the two commanders presented a strange and almost ludicrous contrast. The Elector had resumed his seat in the carriage, where he sat panting and exhausted, but still bravely exhorting his men to acquit themselves worthily of the old Saxon reputation; whilst Charles, mounted on a high-bred Andalusian mare, a lance in his hand, his gilded coat of mail and helmet flashing in the sun, led the charge of his cavalry, shouting the terrible battle cry of the imperialists, "*España! España!*" So complete was the rout of the Saxon army, that the heath was strewn with the bodies of fugitives who had dropped from sheer exhaustion, or been butchered by the sabres of the imperial cavalry. One of the Elector's sons, after a brave resistance, was cut down by an imperialist soldier, but, before the blow could be repeated, he shot his assailant dead, and was soon after rescued from his perilous situation by a body of Saxons. Meanwhile the Elector, who had again mounted his horse, and was defending himself against a whole troop of Hungarian hussars, received a sabre-cut, which laid open his left cheek: but he still refused to surrender, until a German officer addressed him in his native language, when he drew two rings from his finger, and presenting them to the officer in token of submission, allowed himself to be led into the presence of Charles. At the same moment a heavy thunder-cloud sent forth a peal, which seemed to the wounded man like a voice from heaven, for his countenance instantly brightened, and, raising his eyes, he exclaimed, "*Ah! thou ancient Almighty One, thy tongue tells me that thou still livest, and wilt not abandon me.*" Exhausted with his previous exertions, and the loss of blood which still streamed from his wounded cheek, John Frederick dismounted with difficulty, and throwing himself at the Emperor's feet addressed him as his "*mighty and most gracious lord.*" "*Am I indeed at last thy lord?*" replied Charles; "*it is long since thou hast condescended to give me that title.*" The Elector was then consigned to the custody of the Duke of Alva. Wittenberg, at that time one of the strongest towns in Germany, and the residence of the Electoral branch of the Saxon family, still held out; and Sybilla of Cleves, the Elector's wife, animated the citizens to a vigorous defence. The Emperor, meanwhile, had illegally subjected John Frederick to a trial before a court martial composed


of Spanish and Italian officers, who condemned him to be beheaded. This sentence was communicated to him whilst he was engaged in a game of chess with his fellow prisoner Ernest of Brunswick. He discovered neither surprise nor terror at the news; and after remarking upon the irregularity of the proceeding, and expressing a hope that his wife would not surrender the town out of anxiety on his behalf, calmly continued and won the game. But Sybilla did not exhibit the same indifference; and as the emperor threatened to carry the sentence into execution unless the town were surrendered, the garrison were obliged to open the gates. As Charles entered in triumph the city where Luther's ashes repose, the bigoted and gloomy Alva advised him to disinter and burn the body of the arch-heretic. "Let him rest," was the magnanimous reply; "he has appeared before his Judge ere now—I wage war with the living, not the dead." At the same time he ordered, probably for the sake of annoying the Pope, that the Lutheran service should meet with no interruption. The Elector was compelled to cede Courland to Prince Maurice, and follow in the Emperor's train as a prisoner; but no promises or threats could induce him to renounce the Protestant faith. Philip of Hesse, who had been taken in the North of Germany, was also detained in spite of the promises made to him by the agents of Charles.* It was generally believed at the time that this severity was the result of the Emperor's indignation at the unseemly behaviour of Philip, who could not refrain from smiling even whilst he knelt to implore forgiveness. "Well, bide a wee bit," said Charles, in a strange mixture of Flemish and German, for he spoke the latter of these languages very imperfectly, "Bide a wee bit, and I'll teach thee to laugh."† Thus the Protestant party was completely broken up. Prince William of Anhalt became an exile from his country, Schertlin and Ulrich von Hutten fled to Switzerland, and Bucer, the Strasburg Reformer, to England.

* Charles had given an assurance to the Elector, that if he would come to the imperial camp in person, implore his mercy, and sign whatever conditions might be imposed, his territories should be restored, and neither death nor imprisonment be inflicted on him. The excuse made by the Emperor for the violation of these conditions was, that his intention had been misinterpreted through his chancellor's ignorance of German, who had inadvertently substituted the words "without *any* imprisonment" (*ohne einiges Gefängnis*) for "without *perpetual* imprisonment" (*ohne ewiges Gefängnis*)—a story which nobody seems to have believed.

† Wol, wart, ik sol di lacken lehren.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XLI.

The Jesuits.—The Society of Jesus was founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1539; but its laws and constitutions were perfected by his successors, Laynez and Aquaviva, men who were far his superiors in the arts of government. In addition to the usual monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, the Jesuits were also required to swear, that into whatever lands the Pope desired to send missionaries, they would without hesitation undertake the work, and do their utmost to forward the interests of Romanism. A bull of Pope Paul III., in the year 1540, confirmed the establishment of the order, and in the following year the members assembled at Rome, and chose Loyola to be their first General. Paul III. and Julius III. granted them various privileges in addition to those enjoyed by the regular monks and secular clergy. The most important of these is the power given to the General of the order to establish schools of theology even in countries which have been excommunicated as heretic. The society is divided into several classes. 1. Novices, who are chosen from the most intelligent and best-instructed young men, without regard to birth; and are compelled to pass two probationary years before they are actually admitted into the order. 2. Lay brethren, or coadjutors, who do not take the vows. Several personages of distinction (among others Louis XIV. of France) have been admitted to this degree. 3. Scholastics, or scholars and spiritual coadjutors; men of learning, who take the vows, and are especially employed in the instruction of youth. 4. The professed, or highest order, which consists of a certain number of the most experienced members. They are engaged as missionaries among the heathen and heretics, confessors in the families of princes, and residents in places where there is no college; but are never employed in the education of youth. They alone have a voice in the election of the General, who holds his office during life, and possesses an absolute power, from which there is no appeal. He is assisted by a council of five, who are natives of the five principal Romanist states, Italy, Germany, France, Spain, and Portugal. Loyola had at first only ten disciples. But in the year 1608 the society counted 10,581 members; and in the year 1710 they had increased to 19,998.



CHAPTER XLII.

THE INTERIM.—PEACE OF AUGSBURG.—ABDICATION OF CHARLES V.

A.D. 1548 to 1555.

MEANWHILE the Bohemians had formed a confederacy at Prague for the protection of their constitution and the maintenance of religious freedom; but their zeal evaporated in ribald songs, and caricatures in which the insults offered to Bohemia by the Austrian eagle were represented under similitudes too nasty for description. Had they afforded substantial assistance to the Schmalkaldian allies, the results of the war might have been different. Soon after the victory over the Saxons at Mühlhausen, the Emperor's brother, Ferdinand, proceeded to Prague, and opened what is called the "bloody diet," which condemned the chiefs of the confederacy to suffer death by the hand of the common executioner. Of the citizens, some were heavily fined, and others scourged out of the town. The old Hussite party, called the "Bohemian brethren," were banished the country for ever, and retiring in three bodies, each consisting of more than 1000 persons, took refuge in Prussia. In Austria the public feeling was decidedly favourable to the Reformation; and as the states had been politically serviceable to the Emperor, they considered themselves entitled to petition for religious freedom. Charles met this demand by what he considered a master-stroke of policy, which was to have the effect of giving him an enormous influence over the Protestants independently of the Pope. He laid before the former as his *ultimatum*, a proposition called the "Interim of Augsburg," which provided that the cup should be allowed to the laity, and the marriage of priests permitted, but that in all other respects matters should remain as they had been twenty years before; that forms and ceremonies which during that period had fallen into disuse should be re-established and continue to be observed (interim—in the meantime) until a general council could be summoned. The plan, however, met with little success. Two or three of the weaker princes, it is true, adopted it; but the majority either openly or secretly rejected a proposition which they believed to be nothing better than an attempt to re-establish Romanism. The people universally ridiculed the proposal of Charles, and a sort of pun ran like wild-fire through Germany

in which they expressed their suspicions of his sincerity in the proceeding :—

———— The Interim
Has a knave behind him.*

Charles, perceiving how little success his plan had with the Protestants, changed his policy, and determined to employ the assistance of the Pope to bring them under subjection. The death of Pope Paul III. furnished him with a good excuse for treating with his successor Julius, who re-opened the council of Trent in the year 1551. Still Charles was unwilling to proceed to open extremities against the Protestants; and informed the Pope that he could only secure their attendance at the council by civil speeches, quoting the text, "Surely in vain is the net spread in the sight of any bird." To this Julius replied, that he cared not to invite the Protestants to Trent, and fight with a cat in a net; he thought it would be much better to leave them a way open for escape. Meanwhile Prince Maurice, desirous of playing a conspicuous part as leader of the Protestants, had availed himself of the siege of Magdeburg, which he was at this time carrying on by command of the Emperor, to keep a large army on foot; and knowing himself to be surrounded by spies, had contrived to mislead them by allowing them to intercept letters written expressly for that purpose. Before, however, he broke out into open rebellion, he made an alliance with Henry II. of France, which the states of Saxony refused to ratify. Maurice, having no further motive for concealment, now proclaimed war against the Emperor, setting forth as his reasons that the Landgrave Philip of Hesse had been imprisoned in the face of a solemn assurance that no harm should happen to him, and that Habsburg, as it appeared, was endeavouring to reduce the Germans to a state of "brutal hereditary slavery." The situation of Charles at this moment was one of extreme danger; he was at Innsbruck without an army—the enemy was at his heels; all Germany terrified by the unexpected defection of Maurice; the Romanists paralyzed; the Protestants full of hope. To add to his embarrassment, Henry of France entered Germany, and made himself master of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. Maurice on his part would accede to nothing until the helpless situation of the Emperor enabled him to dictate conditions of peace, which was concluded

* ——— Das Interim
Hat den Schalk hinter ihm.

at Passau on the 22nd August, 1552. By this treaty freedom of conscience was secured to the Protestants; the princes John Frederick of Saxony and Philip of Hesse were set at liberty, whilst on the other hand, Maurice promised that he would do his best to protect the empire against the French as well as the Turks. The only German prince desirous of war was the Margrave Albert of Brandenburg, who, at the head of a band of mercenary fire-eaters, continued to burn, slay, and destroy in the name of the Gospel of Peace. A crowd of hostages, among whom were eighty distinguished inhabitants of Bamberg, were starved to death by this ferocious tyrant in a tower at Hohenlandsberg. So enamoured was he of cruelty, that when a father implored him to spare the life of only one of his three sons, Albert asked him which was his favourite, and beginning with the youth pointed out by the old man, put them all to death in succession. But his career of terror was short. A large force was speedily raised by the diet and entrusted to Maurice, who readily undertook the command, although the offender had been his intimate friend and companion in arms. The two armies met at Sievershausen (A.D. 1553). The engagement was murderous: three princes of the house of Brunswick lay dead on the field: Albert himself was wounded in the arm, and Maurice received a mortal wound from a musket-shot; yet, like our own Wolfe, he had the satisfaction of hearing in his dying moments the cry, "They run! they run!" He was only thirty-two years of age when death closed his brilliant career. In better times his conduct would have been esteemed hateful; but it must be remembered that the politics of that age were universally dark and treacherous; and he did no more than others in throwing off his allegiance to the Emperor, whilst his strenuous support of the Protestant cause deserves our praise. The least defensible act of Maurice's life was his availing himself of the Emperor's injustice to extort an exchange of principalities from his cousin, the Elector John Frederick.

The detestable Albert having fled into France* (where his unbridled excesses soon put an end to his life), there remained no further obstacle to a religious peace, which was concluded at Augsburg in 1555, with the extraordinary condition that all sub-

* When it was announced to him that he was a second time placed under the ban (Acht), he jestingly remarked "Eight and eight (acht und acht) make sixteen. Come, my lads, let us drink number 16: the more enemies the better luck."

jects should follow the religion of their rulers. Whenever the prince thought fit to alter his creed, the whole population were compelled, under the most tremendous penalties, to change theirs also. An instance of this occurred in the Palatinate, which was four times alternately Romanist and Protestant. Only the ecclesiastical dignitaries were allowed to change their faith without suffering any other penalty than the loss of their temporal rank and privileges. This clause was termed the "Spiritual reservation." Immediately after the conclusion of this hollow peace, Charles V. abdicated, dividing his dominions between his brother Ferdinand and his son Philip. He had once anxiously desired that Philip should succeed him on the imperial throne; but the feeling against the bigoted and gloomy Spaniard was too strong among the electors to permit his perseverance in such a plan. All that he could do, therefore, was to annex to the crown of Spain those of Naples, of the newly-discovered South American colonies, and of the Netherlands. The hereditary possessions of the House of Habsburg he allowed Ferdinand to retain, together with Bohemia and Hungary. Having made this disposition of his dominions, the aged Emperor embarked for Spain, where he died in the Convent of St. Just, near Placentia, in Estremadura, on the 21st September, 1558.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XLII.

Charles V. in his retirement.—The monastery of St. Justus, whither Charles retired, was seated in a vale of no great extent, watered by a small brook, and surrounded by rising grounds covered with lofty trees: from the nature of the soil as well as the temperature of the climate it was esteemed the most healthful and delicious situation in Spain. Some months before his resignation he had sent an architect thither to add a new apartment to the monastery for his accommodation; but he gave strict orders that the style of the building should be such as suited his present situation rather than his former dignity. It consisted only of six rooms, four of them in the form of friars' cells, with naked walls; the other two, each twenty feet square, were hung with brown cloth, and furnished in the most simple manner. They were all on a level with the ground, with a door on one side into a garden, of which Charles himself had given the plan, and had filled it with various plants which he intended to cultivate with his own

hands: on the other side they communicated with the chapel of the monastery, in which he was to perform his devotions. Into this humble retreat, hardly sufficient for the comfortable accommodation of a private gentleman, did Charles enter with twelve domestics only. He buried there, in solitude and silence, his grandeur, his ambition, together with all those vast projects which, during almost half a century, had alarmed and agitated Europe.

When Charles entered this retreat he formed such a plan of life for himself as would have suited the condition of a private gentleman. Sometimes he cultivated the plants in his garden with his own hands; sometimes he rode out in the neighbouring wood on a little horse, the only one that he kept, attended by a single servant on foot. When his infirmities confined him to his apartment, which often happened, and deprived him of those more active recreations, he either admitted a few gentlemen who resided near the monastery to visit him, and entertained them familiarly at his table, or he employed himself in studying mechanical principles, and in forming curious works of mechanism, of which he had always been remarkably fond, and to which his genius was peculiarly turned. With this view he had engaged Turriano, one of the most ingenious artists of the age, to accompany him in his retreat. He laboured together with him in framing models of the most useful machines, as well as in making experiments with regard to their respective powers, and it was not seldom that the ideas of the monarch assisted or perfected the inventions of the artist. He relieved his mind at intervals with slighter and more fantastic works of mechanism, in fashioning puppets, which, by internal springs, mimicked the actions and gestures of men, to the astonishment of the ignorant monks, who, beholding movements which they could not comprehend, sometimes distrusted their own senses, and sometimes suspected Charles and Turriano of being in compact with invisible powers. He was particularly curious with regard to the construction of clocks and watches; and having found, after repeated trials, that he could not bring any two of them to go exactly alike, he reflected, it is said, with a mixture of surprise as well as regret, on his own folly, in having bestowed so much time and labour on the more vain attempt of bringing mankind to a precise uniformity of sentiment concerning the profound and mysterious doctrines of religion.

About six months before his death, the gout, after a longer intermission than usual, returned with a proportional increase of

violence. His shattered constitution had not vigour enough to withstand such a shock. It enfeebled his mind as much as his body; and from this period we hardly discern any trace of that sound and masculine understanding which distinguished Charles among his contemporaries. An illiberal and timid superstition depraved his spirit: he had no relish for amusements of any kind; he endeavoured to conform in his manner of living to all the rigour of monastic austerity; he desired no other society than that of monks, and was almost continually employed with them in chanting the hymns of the Missal. As an expiation for his sins he gave himself the discipline in secret with such severity that the whip of cords which he employed as the instrument of his punishment was found after his decease tinged with his blood. Nor was he satisfied with these acts of mortification, which, however severe, were not unexampled. The timorous and distrustful solicitude which always accompanies superstition still continued to disquiet him, and, depreciating all the devout exercises in which he had hitherto been engaged, prompted him to aim at something extraordinary, at some new and singular act of piety, that would display his zeal and merit the favour of heaven. The act on which he fixed was as wild and uncommon as any that superstition ever suggested to a weak and disordered fancy. He resolved to celebrate his own obsequies before his death. He ordered his tomb to be erected in the chapel of the monastery; his domestics marched thither in funeral procession, with black tapers in their hands; he himself followed in his shroud; he was laid in his coffin with much solemnity; the service for the dead was chanted, and Charles joined in the prayers offered up for the rest of his soul, mingling his tears with those which the attendants shed, as if they were celebrating a real funeral. The ceremony closed with sprinkling holy water on the coffin in the usual form, and all the assistants retiring, the doors of the chapel were shut. Then Charles rose out of the coffin and withdrew to his apartment, full of those awful sentiments which such a singular solemnity was calculated to inspire. But either the fatiguing length of the ceremony, or the impression which the image of death left on his mind, affected him so much that next day he was seized with a fever. His feeble frame could not long resist its violence, and he expired on the 21st September, after a life of fifty-eight years, six months, and twenty-five days.*

* Robertson, *Charles V.*

CHAPTER XLIII.

FERDINAND I.

From A.D. 1556 to 1564.

STRANGE as it may appear, not a single voice was raised to dispute the will of Charles V. The electors had forgotten the general welfare of their country amidst the heat of religious feuds and the projects of individual selfishness. One of the earliest fruits of the Italian and Spanish influence in Germany was the establishment of Jesuit colonies in all the Romanist states. A member of that society named Canisius, who had published a catechism in Bavaria, being invited into Austria, where Protestantism was now triumphant, laboured so successfully as to extort from his opponents the confession that "but for him, all Southern Germany would have become Lutheran." The good Pope Marcellus, of whom a contemporary had said that he was a man granted to the prayers of the faithful, as one who would rescue the words "church," "council," and "reform" from the contempt into which they had fallen, had been succeeded by the most active of the Ultra-Romanist party, Peter Caraffa. This pontiff, who assumed the title of Paul IV., was in his seventy-ninth year when he ascended the papal throne; but his deep-sunk eyes had still all the fire of youth. In person he was tall and meagre; a bundle of sinews and nerves. His habits were singularly irregular: he would sleep all day and study at night; and woe to the servant who ventured to intrude on his privacy without being summoned. The great object of his life was to re-establish the ancient faith in its former splendour. He believed that he was chosen, not by the college of cardinals, but by God himself, to fill the chair of St. Peter. "We promise and swear," said this zealous pontiff in his inaugural bull, "in all truth to provide that the reform of the universal church and of the Roman court be taken in hand in earnest."

With Ferdinand I. he would at first hold no communication, because he had sanctioned a peace with the Protestants; but dreading his defection from the Romish faith, he placed about the Emperor's person as confessor, a Jesuit named Bobadilla, who brought him back to the feet of the Holy Father. Terrified at

this new and unexpected conjunction, Augustus of Saxony, Maurice's son, who was now the head of the Lutheran party, called together his adherents at Naumburg. Paul IV. availed himself of this opportunity to attempt a reconciliation between the Romanists and Protestants. The times seemed favourable for such an arrangement. The great fathers of the Reformation were all dead, and their successors split into numberless sects; whilst many theologians, disgusted at the want of a rallying point, had already relapsed into Romanism. The Emperor and Duke Albert of Bavaria were willing to allow the cup to the laity, and permit the marriage of priests: concessions which the Pope would probably have ratified. But the Protestants had no inclination to trust those by whom they had been already deceived: and when the Cardinal Commendone appeared at Naumburg, bearing a conciliatory message from the Pope, the assembled princes so far forgot the respect due to a stranger and a minister of religion, as to assail the old man with expressions of contempt and aversion. Yet he addressed them at some length, and in a strain of dignified remonstrance: "What mean ye, sirs, by these bitter words against one who hath undertaken so long and painful a journey in the service of Christian unity? It would seem that you wish to supply by ribald invention what you lack in argument. In that I will not imitate you, but show that we have the better, not only in the justice of our cause, but in the moderation with which we defend it." He then describes a state of things which, it is to be feared, is not altogether without its parallel in our own days. "What contention reigneth among you on account of Luther's doctrine! Not a city, hardly a house, is free from theological bickerings. Wives dispute with their husbands, children with their parents, respecting the interpretation of Scripture. In companies, in taverns, over the wine-pot and the dice-box, women and children pronounce on the most awful mysteries of religion." After several ineffectual attempts to obtain a favourable hearing, Commendone quitted Germany; and the Council of Trent (abandoning all hopes of an accommodation) now applied itself solely to such measures as were likely to be available for retaining in the church those who still belonged to her communion. Some abuses, such as the immorality of the clergy and the sale of indulgences, were in a great measure removed. But the supremacy of the papal see was asserted more vehemently than before, and any departure from the tenets now promulgated as the decision of the

church was forbidden on pain of excommunication. Since that time there has never been a reasonable hope of reconciliation between the church of Rome and the Protestants. Ferdinand I. died on the 5th of July, 1564, in the sixty-second year of his age, and was succeeded by his son Maximilian II.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XLIII.

The Church.—The Lutheran church had delivered itself from the yoke of Rome, and the Lutheran princes made themselves almost entirely independent of the Emperor. Could they have agreed among themselves, they might have spread the blessings both of civil freedom and sound religious knowledge as far as the German tongue is spoken. But the Protestants, instead of making common cause against the arrogance of Rome, were disputing with each other about the various tenets of Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin. The wildest notions were put forth respecting original sin, and the impeccability of those who had once received grace. In Prussia society was shaken to its foundations by the contentions of the rival sects, headed by Osiander and Mörlin.

The Palatine Frederick, who had embraced Calvinism, caused some of his clergy to draw up the Heidelberg Catechism, one of the most intolerant rules of faith that has ever appeared in the world; and endeavoured to propagate its tenets by the sword and the halter. A Socinian named Sylvan was beheaded for heresy at Heidelberg, and hundreds were driven into exile. The death of Frederick, however, was followed by a change as rapid and universal as the first had been. His son Lewis, a zealous Lutheran, banished from his territories all who refused to renounce Calvinism, and displaced such of the clergy as adhered to the religion which his father had established,

CHAPTER XLIV.

MAXIMILIAN II.—RUDOLPH II.

From A.D. 1564 to 1612.

MAXIMILIAN II. had been recommended to the electors by his father in the year 1560 at a diet held at Frankfort. The terms in which the Emperor described his son's qualifications may be taken, with a little allowance for a father's affectionate partiality, as a fair representation of Maximilian's character: "He is intelligent, ready-witted, gentle and tolerant; in a word, endued with all the virtues which beseeem a sovereign, attached to his native land and studious of her welfare. He is also learned, speaking with fluency the six principal European languages, so that he will be able himself to converse with the representatives of foreign powers." During his reign the German people, both Romanist and Protestant, enjoyed a freedom from persecution which they had never experienced since the first outbreak of the Reformation, and this too at a period when France and the Netherlands were deluged with the blood of martyrs. The imperial chamber, which, although established for the purpose of repressing lawless violence, had hitherto been for the most part set at nought by the more powerful nobles, now occupied its true position as the supreme tribunal of the land, to whose decisions all without distinction were compelled to submit. One knight alone, William of Grumbach, refused to acknowledge its authority, and at the head of a band of freebooters ravaged Franconia with fire and sword, stormed the city of Würzburg, and put the bishop to death. Being placed under the ban of the Empire for this atrocious act, he fled to Gotha, where he was received with kindness by Frederick, son of the late elector of Saxony, whom he had well nigh persuaded to employ the mercenary Franconians in an attempt to recover his hereditary dominions, when an army commanded by the Elector Augustus appeared before the city, and after a siege, which lasted the whole winter, compelled Frederick to surrender at discretion. The ill-fated young man was then conveyed a prisoner to Vienna, where he was exhibited to the mob, and then thrown into a dungeon in Styria. Grumbach, after suffering tortures too horrible to relate, was at last tied to four wild horses, which

tore him limb from limb. In the year 1575 Maximilian was elected king of Poland, and died soon afterwards at Ratisbon, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by the Jesuits. He was succeeded by his son Rudolph II., who closely resembled his ancestor Frederick III. in the shyness and indolence of his habits. The chief business of his life was to collect a stable of handsome horses, which he never rode, and to study natural history and astronomy under the instruction of the celebrated Dane Tycho Brahe, and the German philosopher Kepler. Strange things had been foretold to him by the astrologer who had cast his horoscope. He was not to marry, because it had been read in the stars that he should die by the hand of his own son : Rudolph therefore remained single, and in the pursuit of his studies shut himself up so closely that foreign ambassadors and persons of condition were obliged to disguise themselves as grooms in order to obtain a stolen glimpse of him. So carefully did he exclude himself from public observation, that for many months the people of Vienna did not know whether he was alive or dead. A bigoted priest, Melchior Clesel, Bishop of Vienna, persuaded the feeble-minded Emperor that an attempt ought to be made to root Protestantism out of Austria. During his father's life-time the Lutherans had rather been connived at than encouraged, and had built chapels in various parts of the country. These were now closed, the Protestants banished, and a law passed that education should thenceforth be exclusively in the hands of the Jesuits. It cannot be denied that their own absurdities and the unchristian wranglings of their teachers in some degree justified this severity. In Saxony and the Palatinate still more violent measures were adopted against the Calvinists, to whom the disputes of the Lutherans had given an advantage which neither their doctrines nor their character merited. Dr. Crell, the chancellor of Christian I., elector of Saxony, anxious to reconcile the contending parties, and to bring about a union of the two churches, prevailed on the Elector to prohibit the superstitious practice of exorcism in baptism : but the people were so besotted that they compelled their pastors still to perform it. In 1591 Christian died suddenly ; and Crell, after an imprisonment of ten years, was brought out into the public market-place of Dresden and beheaded with a sword, on which was inscribed "Cave Calviniane Crell." Similar cruelties were perpetrated in Brunswick. But the stupid bigotry of the Lutherans was never more discreditably exhibited

than in their resistance to the introduction of Pope Gregory XIII.'s amended calendar (published in 1584). Like some men in the present day, they chose rather to endure inconvenience and disorder than accept any thing which had been defiled by passing through the hands of a Pope; and therefore protested at the diet against any innovation on the good old practice of mis-reckoning their time. These divisions among the Protestants were hailed with satisfaction by the Pope and his adherents, among whom the most distinguished was Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria. The ill-treatment of some Romanists by the mob of Donauwerth had given this prince a pretext for seizing on the city and placing the Bavarian arms over its gates. This act of violence excited great indignation among the Protestants, particularly the Calvinists. The Palatine Frederick IV. proposed a general UNION of the Protestants, but was at first supported only by Würtemberg and the Margrave of Franconia. In 1609, however, he was joined by Brandenburg, and subsequently by most of the Protestant princes except the drunken Elector of Saxony, Christian II., who returned no answer to the proposal. On the other hand, Maximilian assembled the Romanist princes, and proposed to them a HOLY LEAGUE in opposition to the Protestant Union. Christian II. was invited to Prague, and so plied with Hungarian wine, that he was on the eve of joining the league, Protestant as he was, when Saxony was saved from this disgrace by the spirited remonstrance of Duke Julius of Brunswick. The German Protestants had on their side a zealous friend in Henry IV. of France, who was preparing to march an army to their assistance, when his life was taken by the dagger of the assassin Ravallac. Rudolph, who had been compelled to cede Hungary and Austria to his brother Matthias in the year 1606, endeavoured to secure the sovereignty of Bohemia by granting to the people a charter, termed the "Letter of Majesty," by which political and religious freedom was insured to them; but no sooner was the danger over, as he supposed, than he permitted his cousin Leopold, Bishop of Passau, to raise an army with which he invaded Bohemia and stormed the suburbs of Prague. On the advance of Matthias however he was compelled to cede Bohemia to his brother, as he had yielded Hungary and Austria. As Rudolph beheld from his window the beautiful city, which he was about to quit for ever, he exclaimed in bitterness of spirit, "May the vengeance of God overtake thee, and my curse light on thee and on all Bohemia!"

On the 20th January, 1612, Rudolph died in the 60th year of his age, and was succeeded on the imperial throne by his brother Matthias.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XLIV.

Separation of the Netherlands from the Spanish crown.—In the year 1572, Holland, which had been struggling for many years against the oppressive tyranny of Spain, declared itself independent, and established a republic consisting of seven provinces, Geldern, Holland, Zealand, Zütphen, Friesland, Oberyssel, and Gröningen, which they named the States-General of Holland, and elected William of Orange general Stattholder. They had been advised to adopt these decisive measures by Elizabeth, Queen of England, who was anxious to establish at the mouth of the Rhine a barrier against Spain and France. The United Provinces soon formed an alliance with Ghent, where a republic was also established, and Francis of Alençon, brother of Henry III. of France, chosen Stattholder. A price being set by the Spaniards on the head of William of Orange, he was assassinated by a man who entered his lodging in the guise of a petitioner. In his dying agony the unfortunate prince was heard to murmur, "God have mercy on me, and on this poor nation." He died in the arms of his wife, who twelve years before, during the massacre of the Protestants at Paris on St. Bartholomew's day, had witnessed the murder of her father, the celebrated Admiral Coligny, and of her first husband Teligny. After many years of war, during which the strong fortress of Ostend surrendered to the Spaniards, after a noble defence of three years (A.D. 1605), an armistice was at last concluded; the seven northern provinces remaining independent, the southern being re-annexed to Spain. Almost all the riches of the Netherlands were transferred with the Protestants to Holland; and Flanders, except during the few years of her connexion with that country, which terminated in 1830, has never been able to compete with her rival in commerce, wealth, or civilization.

Tycho Brahe.—This celebrated astronomer was born on the 14th of December, 1546, and in 1559 entered at the university of Copenhagen, where his attention was directed to astronomy by a total eclipse of the sun, which took place in 1560. After travelling for some years in Switzerland and Germany, he settled,

in 1576, on the little island of Hoen, which was placed at his disposal by Frederick II., King of Denmark. Here he built an observatory and occupied himself in astronomical pursuits until 1596, when the building was demolished by order of Christian IV. In 1599 he accepted the invitation of the Emperor Rudolph II. to reside with him, and after superintending his studies for two years, died at Prague on the 13th October, 1601. His monument is still to be seen in that city.

Kepler.—Joseph Kepler was born at a little village near Weil, in the territory of Würtemberg, on the 27th December, 1571. His first work was an almanac for the year 1594. After a residence of eleven years at Prague, he was compelled by poverty to accept the appointment of mathematical professor at Linz. During the Thirty Years' War he was patronized by Wallenstein, who gave him a professorship in the university of Rostock. He died on the 15th November, 1631, at Ratisbon, whither he had gone to petition the diet for a more regular payment of his stipend as professor. In the year 1808 a monument was erected to his memory by subscription at Ratisbon; it consists of a round temple with eight pillars, having the bust of Kepler in the centre.

CHAPTER XLV.

MATTHIAS.—FERDINAND II.

From A.D. 1612 to 1637.

It seemed suspicious that, whilst Matthias appeared anxious to insure freedom to the Bohemians, his nephew, Ferdinand, should be destroying every vestige of it in the mountains. The solution of this enigma appeared but too soon. When Matthias became Emperor, he quitted Bohemia, leaving to his nephew Ferdinand, whom he caused to be proclaimed King of that country, to reconcile as well as he could the system of persecution which he had followed in the mountains with the liberal provisions of the Letter of Majesty. The first act of Ferdinand's reign was to remove Clesel, his uncle's ancient friend, from his councils, and treat him as a superannuated dotard, because the bishop had entreated him to spare Bohemia. "Better a desert than a land full of

heretics," was the fierce reply. A shudder of horror thrilled through all hearts as Ferdinand, attended by his Jesuit counsellors, entered Prague. He swore, indeed, to respect the Letter of Majesty; but experience showed that at Grätz and Laybach he had manifested little regard for the sanctity of an oath. The Jesuits did not attempt to conceal their exultation. They circulated tracts, in which the best modes of exterminating Protestantism were freely discussed; and one of them, Scioppius, in his "Alarm-drum of the Holy War," declared that the only way to attain that end was to wade to it through blood. All writings were subjected to a severe censorship, and none allowed to be published except those of the Jesuits and their supporters. Each party seemed to understand the disposition of the other, and, like the ancient gladiators, each waited until some indiscreet movement or some manifestation of weakness on the part of its adversary should enable it to strike with effect. The Protestant feeling was so general throughout Bohemia, that the people had long been accustomed to celebrate their worship openly, although, strictly speaking, only the nobles possessed that privilege. But when, presuming on this forbearance, they ventured to erect new churches in several places, Ferdinand immediately ordered the buildings to be demolished. The states made representations, which the King treated with contempt. Irritated beyond endurance, they resorted to the old Bohemian mode of revenging injuries. William von Lobkowitz seized the Stattholder Martinitz, whilst Count Thurn laid hold on his colleague Slawata, and others having come to their assistance, the two representatives of Majesty were flung out of a window of the palace. Their secretary and creature, Fabricius, was sent after his masters. The window was 60 feet from the ground; but luckily a dwarf alder-tree, round which a heap of waste paper and other rubbish had accumulated, broke the force of their fall and preserved them from serious injury, though Slawata sustained a severe concussion. This event occurred on the 25th of May, 1618, from which day we may date the commencement of the Thirty Years' War. The first movement of the Bohemians after this act of violence was to drive out the Jesuits, "that hypocritical pestilent sect," as they termed them. The people of Austria, Hungary, and Silesia followed their example, and forwarded to Vienna a strong letter of remonstrance, to which Ferdinand returned no answer. The Count of Thurn, the original instigator of this revolt, now

marched to Vienna and prepared to storm the city. Ferdinand (who had lately returned from the diet at Frankfort, where he had been elected Emperor in the room of Matthias) took refuge in a strong tower within the walls; but no sooner did the army of the liberator appear in sight, than the populace burst into his hiding-place, and laid before him an instrument which promised them the free exercise of their religion. "Sign it, Ferdy," shouted one of their leaders. At this critical moment a flourish of trumpets was heard in the castle yard. The cavalry of Dampierre, one of Ferdinand's foreign generals, had come to the King's relief. The burghers retreated, and were soon afterwards abandoned by the Bohemians, as well as by the Hungarian army which had come to their assistance under the command of Bethlehem Gabor. Wild Lithuanian Cossacks (as they were called) were now sent into Austria with express orders to burn, slay, and pillage, until the Germans were thoroughly *converted*. Meanwhile the Bohemians and Hungarians succeeded in repulsing the Poles, who had marched against them; and, amidst the din and horror of war, placed the elector Palatine, Frederick V., on the throne of Bohemia, and Bethlehem Gabor on that of Hungary. Maximilian of Bavaria, who had been placed at the head of the Romanist league, now feared that the Emperor would conquer Bohemia without his assistance, and took the field in all haste, having first promised the Union that he would respect all Lutheran and reformed churches, except those of Bohemia. The elector Palatine had accepted the Bohemian crown at the instance of his wife Elizabeth, daughter of James I. of England, who was perpetually repeating to him that she would rather starve with a crown on her head than live in luxury under an Elector's hat. The indolence of the other Protestant princes had rendered it easy for him to maintain his ascendancy in the Union, and the Bohemians thought that they had made a happy choice in electing him their King; but circumstances soon convinced them that he was a man rather of words than of action. In order to secure the co-operation of his former allies, he held a diet of the Union at Nürnberg, where he was mean enough to allow the imperial ambassador, Count Hohenzollern, to occupy his throne, whilst he seated himself on a stool by his side. His manners also gave great offence to the Bohemians. He spoke French, a language which they detested, and introduced the vices and frivolities of the court of France into that of Bohemia. The dress of the

court-ladies caused especial scandal to his new subjects. But what was worse than all, he commissioned his chaplain, Scultetus, to preach against the Lutherans and Utraquists;* and with a stupid barbarism, which was at that time the distinguishing characteristic of the Calvinists, proceeded to strip the churches of Prague of the few works of art which they still contained. The people, irritated at this uncalled-for devastation, rose, and were only appeased by the promise of Count Thurn that no such attempts should be made in future. But Frederick had lost the affections of the people, and had never attempted to conciliate the Bohemian nobles; from the Union he had nothing to hope, for Bohemia had been expressly given up to the tender mercies of the League; and, to complete the list of his embarrassments, he had made an alliance with the Turks, and received a Turkish ambassador into his capital, to the great disgust of all Europe.

On the 8th of November, 1620, the Bohemians, who had entrenched themselves on the White Mountain, near Prague (the scene of Ziska's heroic deeds), were attacked and utterly routed by the united Imperial and Bavarian forces under the Duke of Bavaria and Count Tilly, a Walloon soldier of fortune, who had been for some time in the service of Maximilian.† Frederick was at table when a breathless messenger announced to him that his army was engaged with the enemy. In order to gain time for consideration he asked for an armistice of twenty-four hours, but the Duke would only allow him eight. This short space he employed in withdrawing by night from the capital with his wife and principal officers. "I know now who I am," said the unhappy Prince to those who attempted to console him: "it is only in adversity that we sovereigns learn this lesson." Frederick fled to Breslau, and afterwards to Holland. His own dominions had been occupied by the Spanish general, Spinola, with an army of 25,000 men. As he had only reigned one winter, men named him in derision the "Winter King." The fate of the capital decided that of all Bohemia, which submitted unconditionally to the Emperor's pleasure. Those leaders of the insurrection who had fled (among whom was Count Thurn) were

* The Hussites, or Bohemian brethren, called Utraquists because they received the communion *sub utraque forma* (in both kinds).

† René Descartes, the great French philosopher, served under Tilly in this expedition. He was then about 24 years of age.

pronounced traitors, their goods confiscated, and their names nailed to the gallows. Five hundred noble families and thirty-six thousand families of lower rank were banished. The streets ran with the blood of those who remained. All Protestant preachers were banished; and, to render his proceedings complete, Ferdinand tore the Letter of Majesty with his own hand, and broke the seal. So severe was the blow, that Bohemia has never recovered from it, even to this day. Count Mansfeld, the leader of the Protestants, was placed under the ban of the Empire, and a reward of 10,000 florins offered for his head. The Protestant Union voluntarily dissolved itself, to the great disgust of the people, who expressed their feelings in satirical compositions. Among these a book was published, entitled 'A full and particular Account of all the Acts of the late Union;' which, on being opened, was found to contain only blank leaves.

Silesia was subjected to the same kind of treatment. Count Hannibal von Dohna traversed the country with the famous Lichtenstein dragoons, and set the example of the so-called Dragonades, which were afterwards imitated in France. Jesuits, or other monks, accompanied by a troop of dragoons, were sent from village to village, and house to house, to *convert* the inhabitants; a mission which they fulfilled by plundering, torturing, and when other means failed, by kidnapping the children from their miserable parents.

In Austria the nobility had yielded, terrified by the Emperor's severity; but the brave peasantry in the mountains still continued to resist, under the command of Stephen Fadinger, a rich peasant, and subsequently under that of a man called the Unknown Student, who formed them into regiments, some of which wore a black uniform, emblematical of the melancholy condition to which their country was reduced. They called themselves the Evangelical Army, and carried banners with the inscription—

The contest is for soul and life;
If God give courage for the strife,
The thing must be.*

After keeping the Imperial forces at bay for some time, they were at length completely routed by the renowned Count Pappenheim, the Student slain, and his head brought to the general.

* Weils gilt die Seel und auch das Blut;
So geb uns Gott ein Heldenmuth,
Es musz seyn.

One Protestant leader was still in arms. The little deformed body of Count Mansfeld contained one of the bravest spirits that ever animated a warrior. The Protestants flocked to his standard, and he soon found himself in Alsace at the head of an army of 20,000 men. The Elector Palatine, Frederick, did not scruple to throw himself into the arms of this new protector, and marched with him to meet Count Tilly, over whom they gained some trifling advantage; but soon afterwards, Frederick having disbanded his army, and thrown himself on the mercy of the Emperor, nothing remained for Mansfeld but to fight his way into Holland, whence he embarked for England to implore the aid of that country. Here he was received with loud acclamations by the people, but gave great offence to the court-ladies, by refusing to kiss them, as was then the English custom. Tilly having now cleared Germany of his enemies, turned all his rage against the cities of Mannheim and Heidelberg, which had presumed to take up arms against him. Both towns were laid in ashes, and the noble library of Heidelberg sent as a present to the Pope.* Although the Emperor detested the Duke of Bavaria, it seemed necessary to reward him for these distinguished services of his general: he therefore presented him with the electoral hat of the unfortunate Frederick. This outrageous proceeding at last opened the eyes of James I., and as the negotiations for the marriage of his son with a daughter of the King of Spain happened at this time to be broken off, he felt himself at liberty to avenge the insult offered to his son-in-law, and formed an alliance with France, Holland, and Denmark, for the purpose of reinstating Frederick. But the hopes to which this alliance gave birth were miserably disappointed. After the death of his father, Charles I. was too much engaged in disputes with his parliament to interfere in continental quarrels; and the French minister, Cardinal Richelieu, judged it necessary to put down the Huguenots at home, before he ventured to aid the German Protestants against the Empire. The King of Denmark (Christian IV.) was therefore the only sovereign who gave substantial assistance to his brethren in Germany.

* The ancient and valuable German MSS. belonging to this library were restored to it in 1815.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XLV.

Condition of Europe at the commencement of the Thirty Years' War.—Schiller has given us a masterly sketch of the state of Europe at this time. "The Romanist party was infinitely the more numerous, and more favoured by the constitution of the Empire: still the Protestants possessed a tract of rich territory, warlike princes and nobles, numerous armies, the sovereignty of the sea, flourishing towns, and many adherents in the Romanist states. If the Romanists had Spain and Italy on their side, Venice, Holland, and England were ready to subsidize the Protestants with their treasures, and the northern states and Turkey to aid them with their troops. Three of their princes were electors of the Empire. Everything might have been done if private interests had not been consulted rather than the public good. France had lost with her illustrious Henry all her weight in the affairs of Europe. Holland was flourishing, but required all her forces for the defence of her own recently acquired freedom. England, although aggrandised by the acquisition of Scotland, was deprived of that influence in Protestant Europe which had been obtained for her by the master-mind of Elizabeth. The weak James the First suffered his daughter and her husband Frederick to be ruined, without attempting to save them. Spain was beginning to feel the effects of that mistaken policy which had led her to neglect agriculture at home, for the sake of drawing gold from her newly acquired possessions in America. The Pope lived in constant fear of his terrible neighbours the Viceroy of Milan and Naples. As head of the church he wished success to the Romanists, but as a temporal prince he was glad that the Protestants kept the Emperor employed at home. The republic of Venice had two dangerous neighbours in Austrian Tyrol and Spanish Milan. Savoy lay between these countries and France. In the north two powerful monarchs had made themselves respected: Christian IV. in Denmark, and Gustavus Adolphus in Sweden."—Schiller, 30 *Jähriger Krieg*.

Tilly.—Tilly, whose proper name was John T'zerklas of Tilly, was descended from an ancient and noble family, and was born at Liège in the year 1560. Being intended for the church, he received a learned education from the Jesuits, and continued throughout his life to pique himself upon his scholarship. His

destination, however, was afterwards changed, and he became a page at the court of Bavaria, where Duke Maximilian soon discovered his talents, though concealed under a quiet and unassuming exterior. He first served in the Netherlands, and subsequently in Hungary, where he quickly attained the rank of general of artillery. But it was in the service of Bavaria that his laurels were chiefly won. He brought the Bavarian troops to a high state of discipline, and gained at their head victory after victory over some of the most renowned generals in Europe. Maximilian rewarded his services with his intimate friendship, and in 1623 the emperor created him a count of the Empire. Tilly was a bigoted Romanist, and acted with the most fiend-like cruelty towards the Protestants who fell into his hands. He prided himself on his temperance, as well as his military prowess, and used to boast that he had never drunk wine, never been in love, and never lost a battle. But after his defeat at Leipsic, the last part of this boast became vain. In person he was tall and thin. His broad forehead was marked, like the rest of his countenance, with deep furrows; whilst a long and prominent nose, high cheek bones, sunken eyes, and hollow cheeks, made up a physiognomy by no means prepossessing. His usual dress was a Spanish suit of green satin, with a cocked hat, from which a long red ostrich feather dangled down upon his shoulders. In battle he commonly rode a small, mean-looking, grey horse.

CHAPTER XLVI.

WALLENSTEIN, COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE IMPERIAL FORCES.

From A.D. 1626 to 1630.



Wallenstein's Castle of Friedland in Bohemia.

ALBERT of Wallenstein, or more properly Waldstein, was born at Prague on the 14th September, 1583. As a boy he displayed the wildest and most unruly temper; and at the age of sixteen was banished from Nürnberg for breaches of discipline committed at the high school of that city. He now entered the service of the Margrave of Burgau, as page; and having one day fallen asleep on a balcony of the castle of Innsbruck, he fell from a height of three stories, but almost miraculously escaped without injury. This accident had a wonderful effect on his future life. He became all at once thoughtful, taciturn, and visionary. He fancied that his life had been preserved by the special interposition of the Virgin Mary; and renouncing the Protestant faith in which he had been educated, turned Roman Catholic. In his youth he travelled much in Spain, France, the Netherlands, and

Italy. In the last mentioned country he devoted his attention to the study of astrology, to which his turn of mind naturally led him; and under Professor Argoli of Padua made great advances in a science which, he believed, would enable him to read his destiny in the stars. He retained his fondness for this study throughout his life, and was always accompanied by an old astrologer named Seni. On his return from Padua he entered the imperial army, and distinguished himself in Hungary in a campaign against the Turks. After the peace, he returned to Bohemia in 1606; where he improved his slender fortune by marrying an old, but exceedingly rich widow. Her death, which speedily ensued, relieved him from an unsuitable consort, and put him in possession of enormous wealth. Wallenstein now found himself able to raise a troop of 200 horse at his own expense; but he declined to mix himself up in the domestic quarrels then going on between the emperor Rudolf and his successor Matthias, and joined instead the Archduke Ferdinand, then engaged in a war with Venice. In this expedition Wallenstein gained by his bravery and generosity the favour of Ferdinand, and the love of the soldiers. Returning home with the rank of colonel, he formed a second marriage with the young and beautiful Isabella von Harrach, the daughter of Ferdinand's privy councillor and favourite.

When the Bohemians revolted in 1618, they offered Wallenstein a command; but he remained faithful to the emperor, for whom he did good service at the head of a regiment of cuirassiers raised by his own funds. The enraged Bohemians confiscated all his estates, but this only served to bind him the closer to Ferdinand. Afterwards he distinguished himself in several affairs with Bethlen Gabor. On the conclusion of peace with Bohemia and Hungary, Wallenstein was restored to all his possessions, and received in addition the estate of Friedland, with the title of duke. He now remained for some time idle in Bohemia. He offered his services to the Duke of Bavaria; but Tilly, who dreaded the proximity of so formidable a rival, persuaded Maximilian to decline them. This was the origin of the bitter hatred which subsequently prevailed between Wallenstein on the one side, and Tilly and his master on the other. But Wallenstein could not remain long inactive, and when Ferdinand proposed to him to raise a force of 20,000 men, he at once declared that he was willing to bring 50,000 into the field. "Twenty thousand men," said he, "will starve; fifty

thousand will be able to support themselves." What a picture of the times! a whole host to be sustained by the robbery and plunder of their fellow-countrymen! The proposal was eagerly embraced by the Emperor, who nominated him generalissimo of the imperial forces. In a few months Wallenstein, by dint of profuse gifts and still more liberal promises, collected an army of adventurers from all the countries of Europe. The discipline of this ill-assorted body was suited to the character of those who composed it. Wallenstein allowed no priests in the camp, winked at the irregularities of his men when they did not interfere with military duty, rewarded with princely munificence those who distinguished themselves, and promoted the bravest of his common soldiers to posts of honour. To increase his influence over these wild mercenaries, Wallenstein affected a mysterious adoration of the goddess Fortune, whose name he adopted as the watchword of his army. Hints also of midnight communings with disembodied spirits were uttered under their breath by the superstitious troopers, whenever their general, after a night spent in his astrological studies, appeared in the camp with a countenance so haggard and ghastly as well nigh to warrant the belief that his hours of retirement had been passed in converse with the powers of darkness.* Wallenstein's great object in assuming this command, was to restore the imperial power in its fullest extent: "We want no princes," he was wont to say, "but a single master, as in France and Spain." With these designs he marched in the autumn of 1625 towards the north of Germany, at the head of 60,000 men. Christian IV. of Denmark, influenced by the crafty diplomacy of Cardinal Richelieu, now at the head of affairs

- * Sie sagen, er les 'auch in den Sternen
Die künftigen Dinge, die nahen und fernen;
Ich weisz aber besser, wie's damit ist.
Ein graues Männlein pflegt bei nächtlicher Frist
Duch verschlossene Thüren zu ihm einzugehen
Die Schildwachen haben's oft angeschrien.—
Und immer was Groszes ist drauf geschehen,
Wenn je das graue Röcklein kam und erschien.

They say too that he reads in the sky
The things that are coming, both far and nigh.
But better I wot how he gains that power!
A little grey man, at midnight hour,
Glides thro' gate and postern barr'd,
Challeng'd oft by the wond'ring guard.
And some great result is always seen
When little grey-coat in the camp has been.

Wallenstein's Camp, by Schiller.

in France, as well as by the more substantial assistance of England and Holland, but, more perhaps than all these, by his own ambition, had already invaded the German territory, where, however, he met with but little support. The march of Wallenstein was opposed by Mansfeld with his irregular army, whom Wallenstein defeated at Dessau, and pursued through Silesia and Hungary. In the latter country Mansfeld fell sick and died. Meanwhile Tilly had completely overthrown the Danes at Lutter (27th August, 1626); and when Wallenstein again turned his face to the north, but little remained to be done. In conjunction with Tilly he marched into Holstein, and having compelled the King of Denmark to sign an ignominious peace, appeared with his army before the strongly fortified town of Stralsund, which would have surrendered at the first summons, had not the burghers, disgusted at the cowardice of their magistrates, taken the matter into their own hands, and prepared for an obstinate resistance. Irritated at this disappointment, Wallenstein swore that he would take the place though it were bound to heaven with chains of iron;* but the brave citizens, reinforced by two thousand Swedes and a body of Scotch mercenaries in the pay of Denmark, made so obstinate a defence, that he was compelled to raise the siege after losing 12,000 men. This check decided for the present the fate of Europe. Wallenstein, no longer deemed invincible, and violently opposed by the Jesuits, fell into disgrace, and being formally deprived of his command, retired to Prague in 1630. His army was partly disbanded, and partly incorporated with the troops of Tilly, who proceeded to invest Magdeburg, where the people had successfully resisted an edict of the Emperor for the suppression of Protestant worship.

* Ruhmte mit seinem gottlosen Mund,
Er wollte nehmen die Stadt Stralsund
Und wär sie mit Ketten gen Himmel gebunden.

And boasted with his godless tongue,
He would take the fortress and town of Stralsound
Tho' with chains of iron to heav'n 't were bound.

Wallenstein's Camp.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XLVI.

The Edict of Restitution.—Instead of remaining tranquil after compelling the King of Denmark to sign a peace at Lübeck in 1629, the Emperor made new enemies by ordering the restitution of all ecclesiastical property acquired by the Protestants since the edict of Passau, namely, two archbishoprics, twelve bishoprics, and several monasteries and abbeys. The Emperor did not hesitate to seize the greater part of the booty, and gave a fine example of accumulation by naming his son Leopold archbishop and bishop of Bremen, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Passau, and Strasburg, and also abbot of Hersfeld. The Protestant form of worship was also suppressed in every part of Germany, except at Magdeburg, where the citizens successfully resisted this encroachment on their liberties.

Count Mansfeld.—This celebrated military adventurer was the illegitimate son of Peter Ernest, Count Mansfeld, and a Mechlin beauty, with whom in his old age the Count had fallen in love. Of ancient race, but small possessions, the Counts of Mansfeld had long been soldiers of fortune; and the one of whom we speak, though his birth deprived him of the family honours, was early destined for the same profession. He was brought up in the Roman Catholic faith, and in his first campaigns did good service for the Spanish crown in the Netherlands, and subsequently for the emperor Rudolph II., by whom he was legitimated. But as, in spite of this, his father's estates were still withheld from him, he swore revenge against the house of Habsburg, and in the year 1610 went over to the Protestants. Small and mean in person, Mansfeld possessed a soul of iron, which no reverses could subdue. Without a foot of land, he supported his troops by plunder; and so great was the fear which his arms inspired, that he was called the German Attila. His death was characteristic, though savouring somewhat of bravado. Being seized at Urakowicz in Bosnia with a mortal sickness, and feeling his end approaching, he caused himself to be clothed in full armour, and supported on his feet by two of his officers, awaited, like a soldier, the stroke of death.

CHAPTER XLVII.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.—BATTLE OF LEIPSIĆ.

From A.D. 1630 to 1631.



Entry of Gustavus Adolphus into Munich.

FROM Holland to the Carinthian mountains, and from Prussia to the Alps of Bern, wherever the German tongue was spoken, Luther's and Calvin's doctrines had penetrated, and found a way to the hearts of the people. With the exception of Bavaria and the Tyrol, every district of Germany had at one time or other fought for liberty of conscience; yet there now remained no vestige of it except in the single city of Magdeburg, whose brave defenders still held out against the assaults of Tilly. In the midst of this melancholy prospect a new ray of hope broke through the clouds which hovered over Protestant Germany. The throne of Sweden was at this time occupied by Gustavus Adolphus, a zealous and sincere supporter of the Reformation, who had long

witnessed with grief the sufferings of his brethren in Germany, but had hitherto been debarred from rendering them any assistance by the wars in which he was engaged with Denmark and Poland. Yet these very wars had given him that unrivalled military knowledge which afterwards produced such glorious results. His Swedes were the best and most formidable soldiers of that day, warlike by nature, hardened by their severe climate, thoroughly disciplined, experienced in the field, full of confidence, and more than all, inspired by a strong religious conviction that the cause for which they drew their swords was favoured by the Almighty. As soon therefore as Gustavus had secured an honourable peace with Denmark and Poland, he had both leisure to undertake, and thousands of brave spirits ready to aid him in accomplishing, the defence of his brethren in Germany. Besides his zeal for the common cause, the Swedish King had also private injuries to avenge—Austrians had fought against him in the ranks of the Polish army, and Wallenstein had insulted his ambassador, without his having been able in either case to obtain satisfaction. A general impression prevailed in Sweden that, sooner or later, a war with the Emperor was inevitable. Many, however, and among them Gustavus's celebrated chancellor Oxenstiern, were of opinion that Sweden should not be the aggressor. But the King himself thought otherwise, and deemed it more advantageous to attack the enemy on the other side of the Baltic, than to wait till he invaded the Swedish coast. On the 20th of May, 1630, Gustavus Adolphus entered the senate-house at Stockholm, to take a solemn farewell of the States of his kingdom. He had already made the necessary arrangements for the administration of public affairs during his absence, and set his house in order, as one who was about to go forth to death. Taking his little daughter Christina in his arms, he presented her to the States as his successor, and caused them to swear fidelity to her, in the event of his never returning. He then read a paper, in which his wishes respecting the government of the country during his absence, or in case of his death, during the minority of his daughter, were distinctly explained. The whole assembly melted into tears, and the King himself was so deeply affected, that some minutes elapsed before he could summon sufficient firmness to pronounce his farewell address. On the 24th of June, the hundredth anniversary of the Augsburg Confession, Gustavus Adolphus landed at Usedom in the midst of a violent thunder storm. As soon as he touched the

German soil, he fell on his knees, and called God to witness that this campaign was undertaken, not for his own honour, but in the cause of the Gospel. His army at this time consisted of only 16,000 men, among whom were thirty-eight companies of Germans, and a regiment or two of Scotch and Irish, who had been in the service of the King of Denmark, and now joined Gustavus. So little sensation did his landing produce, that the people of Vienna called him in derision the "Snow King," who would melt away as he approached the South; and when the Emperor was informed of it, he exclaimed with a shrug of the shoulders, "We have got another little enemy on hand." The Protestants, on the other side, looked to him as their deliverer, and named him the "Lion of the North." Gustavus was of gigantic height, with an open countenance, large blue eyes, and a mild but majestic bearing; presenting in his whole appearance a remarkable contrast to the gloomy Wallenstein, the ferocious Tilly, and most of the German princes, who affected a mysterious demeanour, to cover their low plans of personal ambition. At the time of Gustavus's landing, the army of Wallenstein had, as we have seen, just been disbanded. Tilly was occupied with the siege of Magdeburg, the prosecution of which he deemed of more importance than marching against the Swedes. An Italian general named Conti, who had formerly been in Wallenstein's service, and who now occupied Pomerania with 16,000 imperialists, was therefore left to grapple with Gustavus, single-handed, but he did not think it worth while to stir from his camp before Stettin to oppose his landing. The only fear which the approach of the Swedes seems to have inspired was a belief which prevailed among the superstitious Roman Catholic soldiery, that many Laplanders, enchanters, and other wonderful beings were in their host, the very sight of whom would put to flight the bravest troops.

On the approach of Gustavus, Conti, after an ineffectual attempt to surprise Stettin, drew off his army towards Anclam. Bogislaus, Duke of Pomerania, who in his heart was secretly inclined towards the Swedes, now admitted them into Stettin; and Gustavus, leaving Horn with a considerable force in the place, penetrated farther into Pomerania. The adventures of a Scotch regiment (Mackey's), under Colonel Monro, in endeavouring to join him there, deserve to be recorded. The Scots had been posted near Königsberg and took ship at Pillau; but in their passage

were assailed with such constant storms that eight and forty men were obliged to work constantly at the pumps to keep the leaky vessel from sinking. At length it was stranded near Rügenwald. A fearful surf broke over the wreck, and it was with the greatest difficulty and danger that Monro and his men succeeded in gaining the shore. But even then their condition did not seem to be much bettered. They were without provisions, without powder and shot, almost without arms except pikes and swords, and a few wet muskets. The country all around was still in the hands of the enemy, and the nearest Swedes were at a distance of 80 miles. But Monro did not lose courage. He accidentally knew that the commandant of the castle of Rügenwald, a Pomeranian by birth, was secretly in favour of the Swedes, though the numerous enemies by whom he was surrounded forced him to pretend the contrary. Monro sent a secret message, begging the commandant to admit the Scots in the night-time through a postern; when he undertook to drive out the imperialists and defend the place against them for the future. The commandant accepted Monro's proposal. The Scots were admitted, the imperialists expelled, the fortifications repaired and valiantly defended against the enemy's attempts to retake the castle. Shortly afterwards, Monro was joined by 400 Germans, who had also been driven thither by stress of weather, and by Colonel Hepburn with another regiment of Scots from Prussia, so that in this fortuitous manner a considerable force was collected in Rügenwald. Gustavus when informed of Monro's adventure exclaimed: "We may well expect a prosperous issue, when Heaven expresses its approval by such extraordinary events."

The approach of winter was favourable to the Swedes, as Conti's army, consisting mostly of Italians, was unable to endure the cold. The imperialist commanders invited the Swedish officers to a parley, and gave them a magnificent dinner. After the bottle had circulated pretty freely, Cratz, an Austrian colonel, rose, and remarking that it was unworthy of soldiers to contend with snow and ice, proposed a truce for the winter months; at the expiration of which, he said, they would be happy to meet the Swedes again in the spring. The oldest officer among the Swedes replied, that being unaware of the object of this entertainment, they had not taken the commands of their sovereign on the subject proposed. He was pretty sure, however, that no truce would be granted on account of the winter. Their

King was indefatigable, and easily bore hunger, thirst, cold, and all sorts of inconvenience, nor could it be supposed that his officers were more tender than their master. They were soldiers both for summer and winter, not swallows that waited till the ice had disappeared.

Gustavus highly approved of this answer. A winter campaign was the very thing he had reckoned on. His soldiers were provided with coats lined with fur, and during the winter months he made immense progress. Reinforcements streamed in from every side. Instead of melting away, the Snow King, as if to prove the justness of the epithet bestowed on him, though in an opposite sense from that intended, increased in bulk as he rolled forwards. During the winter Pomerania and Mecklenburg were pretty well cleared of the imperialists. In the spring Frankfurt was taken by storm. Gustavus was now master of the Oder, and could penetrate at will into Silesia, Brandenburg, or Saxony. The Protestant princes began to take courage and speak in a more decided tone. The Emperor, on the other hand, was astonished at his losses, and enraged with the counsellors who had talked so lightly of the Swedish power, and thus occasioned the delay in adequately opposing it. His courtiers no longer displayed their wit at the expense of the Snow King. The Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, however, who were well aware how valuable their friendship must be to either side, held back for a time, observing an armed neutrality; which Gustavus would not break up by violent means, lest he should at once furnish them with an excuse for joining the Emperor. This unfortunate delay decided the fate of Magdeburg, which had received no aid from Gustavus except the sending them one of his officers, Colonel Falkenberg, who entered the place in the disguise of a boatman, and took command of the feeble and dispirited garrison. On the night of the 10th of May, 1631, the imperial party within the walls called loudly for surrender. At four o'clock in the morning Falkenberg hastened to the town-hall, and whilst he was in consultation with the magistrates, Pappenheim, without waiting for orders from Tilly, scaled the walls at a place where the sentinel was unfortunately asleep. Falkenberg rushed out, and had nearly succeeded, with the troops which he had hastily collected, in driving the imperialists out of the town, when he was shot dead. Still the citizens, in spite of the overwhelming force brought against them, resisted bravely, until their powder failed, when

they were obliged to surrender at discretion. Meanwhile, the rest of the imperialists had entered at two undefended gates, and a scene ensued too horrible for description. Even a humane general might have found it impossible to restrain such troops in the moment of victory: but this the ferocious old man who commanded the imperialists did not even attempt. Some officers, who implored him to have mercy on the unresisting citizens, were ordered to return in an hour; "I will then," said he, "see what can be done, but the soldier must have something for his labour and danger." In less than half that time, the work of blood was at its height. The furious soldiers spared neither age nor sex. Almost all the men were beheaded, and a great number of the women. Two clergymen were slain as they stood before the altar. On entering the town Pappenheim had ordered some houses to be set on fire: the wind being strong the flames soon spread, and in a short time the whole city, with the exception of a few houses and the cathedral, was a heap of ashes. These scenes continued until the 13th, when Tilly himself entered, and restored discipline. Four thousand persons, who had taken refuge in the fire-proof cathedral, were admitted to quarter, and for the first time during three days obtained something to eat. It is said that they owed this favour to the vanity of Tilly, who was flattered at being addressed in a Latin oration by one of their preachers. The terrible commander, whose singular style of dress gave him the appearance of a lunatic mountebank, rode slowly through the town, gloating on the heaps of dead bodies, with which the streets were covered. In a letter to the Emperor, he speaks of this scene of murder and desolation as the greatest victory that had been achieved since the taking of Troy and Jerusalem. "And sincerely," he adds, "do I pity the ladies of your imperial family, that they could not be present as spectators of the same." Gustavus Adolphus now resolved, come what might, no longer to spare the electors whose indecision had caused this terrible calamity. On the 11th of June he appeared before Berlin, and offered George William the choice either of instantly joining him, or seeing his capital laid in ashes. The terrified Elector, after a little resistance, signed the treaty of alliance; and Gustavus garrisoned the fortresses of Berlin, Spandau, and Küstrin. Tilly, having been repulsed on the Hessian frontier, had marched to the great plain of Leipsic, in the hope of terrifying the Elector of Saxony into an alliance: but that prince now de-

clared himself on the side of the Swedes; and eighteen thousand Saxons having joined Gustavus Adolphus, the allied army advanced on Leipsic, which was already in the hands of Tilly. The difference between the Swedish and imperial armies was very remarkable. In the camp of Gustavus religious service was regularly performed, sometimes to the army in general, on which occasions the King was always present, sometimes by the chaplain of each regiment to those more immediately intrusted to his charge. The kindness with which the Swedish soldiers treated the unarmed citizens and peasants, the strict morality of their lives, and the gentleness of their manners, rendered them universally objects of respect and love, and presented a striking contrast to the fearful oaths and shouts of licentious revelry with which Tilly's camp resounded day and night, and to the cruelties practised by his soldiers on the defenceless inhabitants. The Swedish troops had lately been equipped by Gustavus Adolphus with a view to rapid movements: they therefore wore no armour, and were accompanied by only a very light train of field artillery. The imperialists on the contrary wore cuirasses, greaves, and helmets, had much less discipline among them than the Swedes, and were encumbered by heavy ordnance. Tilly had intended to await the coming up of two of his generals with reinforcements, before he engaged the enemy; although his own force amounted to 40,000 men, a number equal to that of the united Swedish and Saxon army: but the impetuous Pappenheim having entangled himself in a skirmish with the Swedes, Tilly was obliged to march to his assistance, muttering as he went, "That fellow will ruin me yet in honour and reputation, and the Emperor in land and people." Gustavus Adolphus, dressed in a simple grey surtout, with a white hat and green feather, rode in front of the line, and exhorted his men to fight bravely. The Swedes composed the right wing, the Saxons the left. Tilly's army formed, according to the ancient mode of warfare, one long line, but Gustavus had broken his force into several small masses. The imperial artillery was planted on the ridge of a low hill immediately behind the army. The battle began on the 7th of September, 1631, with a furious cannonade, which lasted two hours. Then Tilly, abandoning his position on the hills, marched to meet the Swedes; but their fire was so galling, that he was obliged to make a movement to the right, and attack the Saxons, who soon fled in confusion. Meanwhile, Pappenheim, at the head of his

terrible cuirassiers, had seven times charged the Swedes, and as often been driven back with great loss. Whilst Tilly was engaged with the Saxons, the Swedes attacked him in flank, captured his artillery, and turning it against himself, threw both him and Pappenheim into irrecoverable confusion. Four regiments of veterans, who had become grey in the imperial service, resolved to be cut to pieces rather than yield. In detached bodies, they forced their way through the midst of the victorious army, and reached a little wood, where they continued to fight until night came on. The rest of the army fled in disorder, pursued by the Swedes, who cut down hundreds of the fugitives. In all the villages around the tocsin was rung, and the peasants rushed out to wreak vengeance on their oppressors. Meanwhile Tilly, now a veteran of seventy-two years of age, who had never before either sustained a defeat or been wounded, stood like a monument of despair, stupified and motionless. Three bullets had already pierced his body ; but he refused to surrender himself, and an officer belonging to the regiment of the Count Palatine (called by the soldiers "Long Fritz") was in the act of cutting him down, when he was rescued by Duke Rudolph of Lauenburg. The miserable remains of his army took refuge in Halberstadt, where Tilly joined them. During his flight the curses of the peasants rang in his ears, and he was exasperated beyond measure at hearing everywhere the words of a rude song, in which his defeat was celebrated, and the chorus "Fly, Tilly, fly!" howled by hundreds of voices. After this victory the country people rose in a mass, and joined the standard of Gustavus in such numbers, that in a few days his army was stronger than it had been before the battle.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XLVII.

Narrow escape of Gustavus Adolphus.—The great personal qualities of Gustavus, and the bold enterprise which he had undertaken for the succour of the Protestant Church in Germany, excited the alarm and hatred of the Jesuits, who laid many plans against his life. From one of these he very narrowly escaped. An Italian colonel named Quinti del Ponte, in the service of the imperialists, in order to carry out his designs against Gustavus, deserted to the Swedes, by whom he was received without suspicion. Hearing one day that Gustavus intended to reconnoitre the camp of the imperialists attended by only a small guard of

horse, Del Ponte hastened to Garz, and having obtained from Conti a body of 500 Neapolitan cuirassiers, posted them on both sides of a hollow way through which the Swedish king must necessarily pass. They were commanded to take Gustavus alive, if possible; and with this view, as well as to avoid giving the alarm, not to fire. No sooner had Gustavus entered the defile than the Neapolitans broke from their ambush and surrounded his little guard on all sides. The Swedes pressed around their king and defended him with desperate resolution. As they had the advantage of using their fire-arms, they succeeded for some time in keeping their assailants at bay; till Del Ponte becoming impatient, and fearing that the reports of the Swedish carabines would bring assistance to the King, ordered his men also to fire. The affair now became desperate. Gustavus's horse was shot under him, and one of the Italian troopers seized him by the belt, though, from the plain style of the King's dress, without being aware of the value of his capture. At this critical juncture a welcome but not unexpected succour arrived. By way of precaution three troops of horse and a company of infantry had been ordered to follow the King at some distance—an arrangement which had not come to the knowledge of Del Ponte. These troops, alarmed by the firing, now arrived at full speed, fell upon the surprised Neapolitans, who had already suffered considerable loss, and drove them from the field. Gustavus escaped in the confusion, and after lamenting the brave men who had fallen in his defence, returned in safety to the Swedish camp, where he was received with cries of joy.

Not long afterwards the life of Gustavus was again attempted in a still more insidious manner. Some Bavarian Jesuits incited a fanatical monk to enter the Swedish camp in the disguise of an English priest, and to deliver to the King a letter impregnated with a poison of the subtlest kind, the mere vapour of which would cause certain death. Oxenstiern, however, was informed of the matter by some trusty spies, and the diabolical design was frustrated.

Pasewalk. Horrors of the Thirty Years' War.—At some distance west of Stettin lay the little town of Pasewalk, which the industry and love of order of its inhabitants had rendered thriving and handsome. In the year 1627, three troops of Wallenstein's cavalry appeared before it, and requested to be accommodated with quarters for three weeks. The unsuspecting citizens con-

sented, and opened their gates. Three years passed over and their unwelcome guests were still there, but in three or four times greater numbers. The inhabitants, on the contrary, had dwindled down to little more than a third, the rest having either died or fled the place. The wealth of the little town had decreased in the same degree, and it was reckoned that 147,000 dollars had been extorted over and above the usual war taxes. Such was Wallenstein's method of supporting his troops.

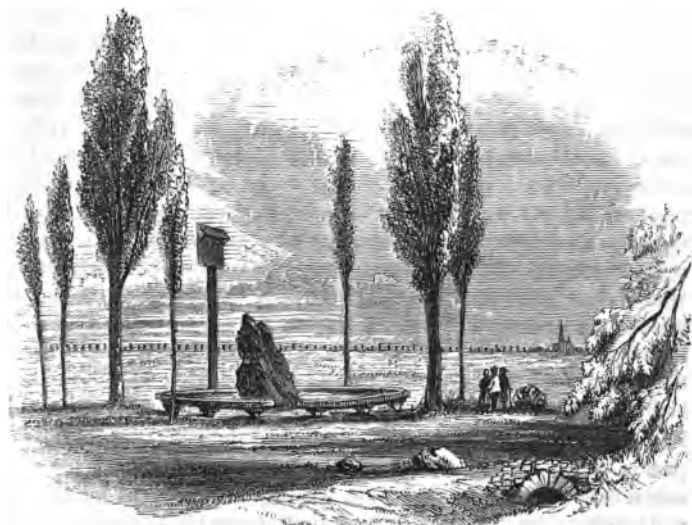
But it would have been happy for the inhabitants had their misfortunes ended here. After Stettin had gone over to the Swedes, the Emperor directed Tilly to show no mercy towards Pomerania. The imperial commanders now proceeded to divide the towns of that unfortunate province amongst themselves by lot. Pasewalk fell to the share of Colonel Hans Götz, who demanded from the inhabitants a contribution of 18,000 rix-dollars. They scraped together what they could, but were unable to make up the whole sum, and begged for indulgence. Götz, however, was inexorable. He seized the burgo-master and seven of the principal citizens, whom he sent to the camp at Garz; where, loaded with heavy chains, they were exposed without any sort of shelter to the inclemency of the weather, and to the brutal jests and ill-usage of the soldiery. Meanwhile troops of cavalry and lansquenets were marched into the ill-fated town to plunder it at discretion until the balance of the impost should be paid. The inhabitants now collected what goods they possessed, and offered to pay in kind what they could not liquidate in money. A great part of these goods, however, was pillaged on the way to the camp; and Götz, who was the valuer, declared that the debt had not been satisfied. But worse remained behind. On the 3rd Sept., 1630, the approach of the Swedes was announced. The imperialists evacuated the town, which was entered by the Swedes amidst shouts of joy from the inhabitants. In a few days, however, Götz returned with a reinforcement, took the town by assault, and put all the Swedes to the sword. A dreadful vengeance was now at hand. The town was abandoned to pillage. The officers themselves rushed into the more opulent houses, and by the exhibition of thumb-screws and other instruments of torture compelled the owners to produce their valuables. Then came the turn of the common soldiers, who stripped the miserable inhabitants even of their clothes. The men were murdered, the women outraged; the streets were strewed with the dead and dying. These horrors

lasted for three days, and then the town was fired. A considerable portion having escaped the flames, Götz commanded the fire to be rekindled. A Protestant clergyman who had escaped the massacre with only a few wounds, threw himself at Götz's feet and entreated him to spare the houses and churches which still remained. "No!" answered the brutal soldier; "I have sworn an oath to destroy the heretical and treacherous nest, and I will not break it." At his signal, troops of Croats with lighted brands rushed to the houses which were still standing, and completed the work of plunder, massacre, and desolation. The imperialists then marched out, whilst the lurid flames of the burning town lighted up the horizon for miles around.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

DEATH OF TILLY.—BATTLE OF LÜTZEN.—DEATH OF
GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

A.D. 1632.



The Swede's Stone, marking the spot on the field of Lützen where Gustavus Adolphus fell.

LEAVING his generals Baudis and Banner to follow up his successes in Northern Germany, Gustavus marched to Erfurt, and
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thence through the Thuringian forest to Würzburg, Frankfort, and Mentz. He crossed the Rhine at Oppenheim, and in commemoration of his passage caused a high pillar to be erected, having on the top the figure of a lion, with its head encased in a helmet, and bearing a sword in its claws. Charles of Lorraine and the imperialist colonel Ossa endeavoured to defend the left bank of the river, but Gustavus defeated them. After the taking of Mentz, the valuable library of the archbishopric was despatched to Sweden by sea, but, unluckily, the vessel on board of which it had been shipped foundered during a storm in the Baltic. This was an irreparable loss, as Mentz was the most ancient seat of German literature and science, and contained immense collections. Spire, Landau, and many other places had already declared for the Swedes; and the banks of the Rhine and the Neckar resounded with shouts of joy as the army of the liberator advanced. The Swedish soldiers, on their part, delighted with the beauty of the country, and revelling in the unaccustomed luxuries of wine and wheaten bread, were eager to hold out the right hand of fellowship to men who received them so kindly. Ulm sent a deputation to congratulate Gustavus on his successes. The Count Palatine Christian of Birkenfeld recruited for his army; Frederick King of Bohemia returned to his Palatinate; and to crown the satisfaction of the Swedish King, his wife Eleonora joined him at Frankfort. Meanwhile "that old devil, Tilly" (as Gustavus always called him), had begun to rally, and after taking the town of Rotenburg, was entrenching himself in a strong position at Rain on the Lech, in order to cover Bavaria. Maximilian with a considerable force was also encamped in the same neighbourhood. The works on the Lech were nearly completed, when Gustavus advancing to the opposite bank of the river commenced a cannonade, which was kept up during three days without intermission. At the end of that time the imperialists became first aware that the enemy's engineers, under cover of the smoke, had succeeded in constructing a bridge, over which a considerable portion of their army had already crossed the river. In a transport of rage, Tilly rushed forward to meet the Swedes; but his course was arrested by a cannon ball, which shattered his thigh, and produced so ghastly a wound, that he shortly afterwards died in great agony, advising Maximilian, with his last breath, at whatever sacrifice of life or treasure, to secure Ratisbon, the key of Austria and Bavaria. Gustavus now marched to Augsbourg,

where he caused the Gospel to be proclaimed, and thence to Munich, the gates of which were opened to him on his promising to spare the place. By his side rode Frederick, the deposed King of Bohemia, accompanied by his Queen, and a large monkey dressed in the frock and hood of a Capuchin friar. The Bavarians had buried their cannon under the floor of the arsenal, which came to the ears of Gustavus. "Let the dead arise," said he, and 140 pieces were dug up, mostly filled with ammunition. One of them contained 30,000 ducats. Maximilian would gladly have made peace, but Gustavus Adolphus in no very courtly language told him that he was not to be trusted, adding some coarse remarks better suited to the manners of that day than to the more refined taste of modern readers. The loss of Tilly now compelled the Emperor to enter into negotiation with the only general who was capable of commanding an imperial army at this critical juncture. Since his disgrace, Wallenstein had been living at Prague in more than regal state. His palace stood on the sites of several hundred houses, which had been pulled down to make room for the building: his gardens were full of handsome fountains and aviaries, some of which were so large that tall trees were enclosed within their wires: boys of noble family waited upon him as pages, and many of his former officers were still in his service. During his retirement he had been endeavouring to bring about an alliance between Denmark, Saxony, and the Empire, under the auspices, as it was generally supposed, of the Emperor himself, although he afterwards thought proper to deny that he had corresponded with the Duke of Friedland on that or any other subject during his banishment. The overtures of Ferdinand were received very coldly by Wallenstein, who refused to listen to any proposals until he was satisfied that the Emperor was willing to reinstate him on terms dictated by himself. The conditions, which secured to him an irresponsible command, and which he extorted on the grounds that a dictatorship was indispensable in the present distracted state of the empire, were as follows: 1st, that he should have the sole command of the imperial forces, and that not even the Emperor himself should interfere in it; 2nd, that he should have the sole disposal of all the conquests that he made; 3rd, that the Emperor should reward him with one of the imperial hereditary possessions, besides some other estate; 4th, that for the maintenance of his army he should be at liberty to confiscate what, and where, and how he liked. These conditions having been at last conceded,

the new dictator commenced recruiting, and in a few months found himself at the head of a considerable army, with which he easily drove the Saxons out of Bohemia. A junction was now formed at Eger between Wallenstein's army and that of his old enemy, Maximilian, but only on the conditions prescribed by the former; namely, that he should have the sole command, and that the army should not be marched into Bavaria, but towards Nürnberg. This was in June 1632. "Now," cried Wallenstein, "we shall see soon whether Gustavus Adolphus or I am to rule the world." Gustavus had wished to return to Bavaria, and carry the war into the heart of the Romanist states; but intelligence having reached him that Wallenstein had taken Leipzig, he at once determined to march northwards, and on the 27th of October arrived at Erfurt, where he took leave of his wife, with a melancholy foreboding that they were to meet no more on this side the grave. On the 1st of November he reached Naumburg, whither the inhabitants of the surrounding country, which had been desolated by the march of Wallenstein, flocked in crowds to gaze on the hero. Wherever he appeared shouts of joy and affection welcomed him, thousands flinging themselves on their knees and struggling with one another for the privilege of kissing his feet or the sheath of his sword. This homage, although only the outpouring of gratitude and admiration, grievously disconcerted Gustavus. "Is it not," he said to his attendants, "as though this people were making a God of me? I pray that the vengeance of the Almighty may not fall on us for this audacious mummery, and show these foolish crowds but too soon that I am only a poor, weak, sinful mortal." "Thus," says Schiller, "did he prove himself doubly worthy of their tears, as the moment drew nigh which was to bid them flow." Having discovered through an intercepted letter that Pappenheim had been detached to lay siege to Halle, and that the imperial troops were dispersed in winter quarters, Gustavus abandoned his intention of joining the Elector, and advanced at once to attack Wallenstein. Three guns from the castle of Weissenfels gave the signal to the imperialists that the Swedish army was in sight. Wallenstein instantly drew his regiments together, and dispatched messengers to command the immediate return of Pappenheim. On the 6th of November Gustavus drew up his forces in nearly the same order which the year before had insured him the victory at Leipzig. The whole army formed two lines, having a canal on their right and in their rear,

the high road in front, and the village of Lützen on their left. The infantry, under Count von Brake, occupied the centre, the cavalry the wings, and the artillery the front of the whole line. Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar commanded the left wing, and the King himself with his Swedish cavalry took up his position on the right. The order of battle of the second line was the same as that of the first; and behind it was stationed a corps de réserve under the command of Henderson, a Scotchman. On the evening before the battle Wallenstein deepened the trenches on each side of the high road which divided the two armies, and placed a strong body of musketeers behind the mounds formed by the earth thrown out of them. In the rear of these was a battery of seven heavy guns; and on an eminence behind Lützen, on which stood a windmill, were planted fourteen lighter pieces, which commanded a great part of the field. The infantry, in five unwieldy divisions, were stationed about three hundred paces in the rear of the high road, their flanks being covered by cavalry. To conceal his weakness, Wallenstein ordered all the horse-boys and camp-servants to mount and form on the left wing, where they were to remain until the arrival of Pappenheim should supply their places with more efficient warriors. All these dispositions were made in the dead of night; and the two armies awaited the dawn of that bloody morning which should prove whether Gustavus was indebted for his previous successes to his own genius, or to the unskilfulness of his opponents. The day at length broke, but an impenetrable fog lay spread over the whole plain, and prevented any movement of the two armies until near midday. In front of the Swedish line Gustavus Adolphus knelt down, and offered up his prayer to the God of battles, whilst the whole army raised Luther's battle-hymn, "A steadfast fortress is our God,"* the field music of the different regiments playing a solemn accompaniment. The King then mounted his horse, with no defence but a buff coat, the pain of a recent wound rendering the weight and pressure of his armour insupportable; and rode through the ranks, speaking cheerfully to the soldiers, and striving to inspire them with hopes which his own melancholy forebodings prevented him from feeling. "God with us," was the battle-cry of the Swedes; "Jesu Maria," that of the imperialists. The fog in some measure dispersing about eleven o'clock, the two armies began to be visible to each other, and at the same moment the village of Lützen was

* "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott." ♣

discovered to be in flames, having been set on fire by order of the Duke of Friedland, lest he should be outflanked on that side. Half an hour later Gustavus gave the signal of attack, and the Swedish infantry rushed forward to carry the trenches, but a murderous fire of artillery and small arms compelled them to retreat. The voice of Gustavus soon rallied them, and they fought with great fury, but without making any impression on the imperialists, until Colonel Winkel, with a regiment of cavalry, forced his way across two of the trenches, followed by the Swedish body-guard. The battery was soon carried and the guns turned against the imperialists,—then re-taken by Wallenstein,—and again carried by the Swedes, whose right wing was everywhere victorious, but their left, galled by the heavy fire from the windmill battery, was beginning to give way, when Gustavus rode forward for the purpose of rallying them. The swiftness of his horse rendering it impossible for the heavy cavalry to keep pace with their leader, he soon found himself almost alone in the midst of the enemy. Here a subaltern of the imperial army, observing the respect with which the unknown officer was treated by his few followers, naturally concluded that he was a person of importance, and called out to a musketeer, "Shoot that man, for I am sure he is an officer of high rank." The soldier immediately fired, and the king's left arm fell powerless by his side. At this moment a wild cry was raised, "The king bleeds; the king is wounded." "It is nothing," shouted Gustavus; "follow me." But the pain soon brought on faintness, and he desired the Duke of Lauenburg in French to lead him out of the throng. Whilst the duke was endeavouring to withdraw him without being noticed by the troops, a second shot struck Gustavus and deprived him of his little remaining strength. "I have enough, brother," he said in a feeble voice to the duke; "try to save your own life." At the same moment he fell from his horse, and in a short time breathed his last. His horse, bathed in blood, and galloping wildly about the field, gave the first intimation to the Swedish cavalry that their king had fallen: a furious struggle for the recovery of his remains then took place between them and the Croatians; and the disfigured corpse of Gustavus was soon buried beneath a heap of dead. Meanwhile the sorrowful tidings had reached the main body, and goaded the Swedes almost to desperation. They fought with a fury which nothing could resist; and the enemy was already retreating, when Pappenheim appeared,

and the battle began afresh. Nothing could exceed the fierceness of this second engagement. The Swedish yellow regiment, the flower of their army, lay dead, each man in his rank, without having yielded an inch of ground. Count Piccolomini, one of the imperial generals, had seven horses shot under him, and received six wounds, but would not quit his post until the battle was decided. Wallenstein rode through the field like one bearing a charmed life: right and left his attendants fell, and his cloak was pierced through and through with bullets; yet he escaped unwounded, to fall at last by the hand of an assassin. Pappenheim received two shots in his breast and was carried out of the battle. Whilst they were conveying him to the rear, a rumour reached him that his great rival was slain. The countenance of the dying man brightened at this intelligence. "Tell the Duke of Friedland," he said, "that I lie here without hope of life, but I die in peace, knowing that the enemy of my faith has also fallen." The mists of evening put an end to the fight. So little were the Swedes aware of the advantage which they had gained, that the question of an immediate retreat was seriously discussed between Bernard of Saxe Weimar and General Knipphausen; and great was their surprise when the light of morning made them aware that Wallenstein had withdrawn his troops and left them masters of the field. Had Pappenheim's reinforcement arrived a few hours earlier, the event would probably have been different; and even as it was, something might have been done to save the *matériel* of the army from falling into the enemy's hands; but Pappenheim's fall and the disabled condition of most of his men seem to have paralysed the hitherto fearless spirit of Wallenstein; for leaving his artillery, his colours, and the greater part of his small arms on the field, he commenced a disorderly retreat towards Leipzig, and the next morning was followed by the miserable remnants of his army. He made, it is true, a feeble attempt to regain the ground, by sending out a body of Croats to hover round the scene of action; but the sight of the Swedish army, drawn up in good order between Lützen and Weissenfels, soon scared away these irregular skirmishers; and Bernard of Saxe Weimar, who succeeded Gustavus in command of the Swedes, retained undisturbed possession of the field. But the victory was dearly purchased. More than nine thousand men lay dead on the field of battle: the whole plain, from Lützen to the canal, was strewed with the wounded and the dying; the bodies

of knights and nobles were mingled with those of the common soldiers; and even an ecclesiastic, the Abbot of Fulda, whose zeal for his faith had brought him to the field as a spectator, paid the penalty of his rashness with his life. But the most melancholy feature of the Swedish triumph was the loss of him who had died to achieve it. For a long time the body of Gustavus Adolphus lay concealed under the heaps of nameless dead, who had fallen later in the day. At length it was discovered near a large stone between Lützen and the canal, covered with the most ghastly wounds, trampled on by the horses' hoofs, and stripped of its clothes and ornaments by the hands of those wretches who follow a camp for the sake of plunder. Tears streamed down the cheeks of the rough soldiers as they followed in melancholy procession the remains of him who had so often led them to victory; and when the bereft widow embraced his corpse at Weissenfels, a dismal murmur ran through the ranks, like the wailing of children over the grave of a beloved father. The buff coat of Gustavus, covered with blood, had been torn from his body by the plunderers, and found its way to Vienna, where it was exhibited to the Emperor, who, bursting into tears at the sight, exclaimed, "Gladly would I have allowed the unhappy man a longer life, and a joyful return to his country, if his death had not been necessary to the repose of Germany." Thus fell in the thirty-eighth year of his age Gustavus Adolphus, the great protector of Protestantism in Germany.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XLVIII.

The Swede's Stone.—The Schwedenstein, or Swede's Stone, which marks the spot where Gustavus Adolphus fell, is a rude block of granite standing on the right hand of the road leading from Lützen to Leipzig. On its face are inscribed the letters G. A., with the date of the battle. In the year 1837, on the anniversary of the Swedish hero's death, a monument of cast-iron, which had been erected over the stone, was solemnly uncovered, and a suitable oration pronounced by Dr. Draeseke, Bishop of the Prussian evangelical church. On the side of this monument nearest the high road is the following inscription:—"Hier fiel Gustav Adolph, am 6 November, 1632."

Count Pappenheim.—Godfred Henry Count Pappenheim was the son of a marshal of the imperial household, and was born on

the 29th May, 1594. At his birth he is said to have borne on his forehead two red marks resembling swords, which, however, were not visible in later years except when violent passion caused the blood to rush into his face, when they gave a strangely savage expression to his whole countenance. Pappenheim completed his education at the university of Tübingen, after which he travelled through the Netherlands, France, and Italy, and acquired the languages of those countries. He began his military career under the Duke of Bavaria and soon rose to a high rank in the service. As a second in command he was excellent, but his overboiling courage, amounting often to rashness, unfitted him for the sole direction of an army. Tilly always maintained that the battle of Leipzig was lost through his temerity. In person he bore some resemblance to Gustavus Adolphus, which he sought to increase by his dress and manner, and even by the way in which he arranged his hair. But though he entertained a great respect for the Swedish king, he considered him as a sort of personal opponent, and in battle always chose his place exactly facing him. He died of his wounds in the castle of Pleissenburg at Leipzig, a day or two after the battle of Lützen: a hundred cicatrices were found upon his body. A messenger was on the way from Madrid to bring him the order of the Golden Fleece, when death rendered all worldly distinctions valueless.

CHAPTER XLIX.

DEATH OF WALLENSTEIN.

A.D. 1633.

THE death of Gustavus Adolphus would have been fatal to the Protestant cause, had not the Swedish Chancellor Oxenstiern and Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar exerted themselves to repair the loss by assembling the German princes and representatives of cities at Heilbronn, where Oxenstiern was named head of the alliance in the room of his deceased master. The command of the army was divided between Duke Bernard and General Horn, but the Swedes had lost much of that discipline which had rendered their character so estimable in Germany during the lifetime of Gustavus, and now committed acts of plunder and violence

with as little scruple as the imperialists. Some advantages were obtained by Bernard and his colleague; but the unfortunate city of Leipzig, having surrendered for the third time to the imperialists, was sacked and pillaged by Wallenstein's general, Holk. The plague, which was raging at Leipzig, soon afterwards attacked the conqueror; and as he lay on his sick bed without hope of recovery, the stings of conscience became so insupportable, that he offered six hundred dollars to any one who would bring him a Lutheran minister. But all had either been murdered by his own order, or had concealed themselves so closely, that the attempts of his officers to discover them were utterly fruitless. Whilst the Swedes were overrunning Germany, Wallenstein remained inactive with his army in Bohemia, until the desertion of some mercenary troops suggested to him the expediency of ascertaining exactly the temper of his men, by tendering his resignation to the Emperor. The experiment succeeded. Most of the German troops remained faithful to their commander; and the principal officers, being invited to a banquet, signed a paper, in which they pledged themselves to support the Duke of Friedland against any who should seek to disturb him in his command. It was afterwards pretended that the signature of these officers had been obtained by fraud, inasmuch as a paper containing the words "saving our duty to the Emperor," which lay on the table at the beginning of the banquet, had been withdrawn when the guests were too drunk to detect the manœuvre, and another substituted, which pledged them simply and unconditionally to the support of their general. But this story, although universally believed in the days of Schiller, has been pronounced by modern historians to be an invention of Wallenstein's enemies, who hoped in some measure to justify their deed of blood by representing the murdered man as a dishonoured traitor. These proceedings of the Duke of Friedland were betrayed to the Emperor by Ottavio Piccolomini, an officer who had insinuated himself into the general's confidence by false professions of friendship. The Emperor now issued secret instructions to those officers who could be relied on to seize Wallenstein and his two principal associates, Ilow and Terzky; alive, if possible, but in any event dead or alive. An order for superseding Wallenstein in his command was also forwarded from the imperial court to General Gallas, who took care to communicate it to none but the foreign mercenary officers. Wallenstein, surprised by the desertion of Piccol-

uomini and the other Italian generals, threw himself into Eger (a strong fortress on the western frontier of Bohemia), and now for the first time entered, it is said, into negotiations with the Swedes. But Bernard of Weimar, doubtful of his sincerity, received these advances coldly. "One who did not believe in God," he said, "ought not to be trusted by men." Perhaps Wallenstein might eventually have succeeded in removing this unfavourable impression: but his hours were now numbered. On the 25th of February, 1633, Gordon, a Scotch soldier of fortune, who commanded the garrison, and two mercenary officers named Butler and Leslie, the one Irish, the other Scotch, met at midnight in the citadel of Eger, and swore on the crosses of their swords, that they would put to death the Duke of Friedland, Illow, Terzky, Kinski, and an officer of inferior rank named Neumann, all of whom were invited to an entertainment at the citadel on the following evening. This dark plot was communicated to three other Irishmen and two Italians; and an arrangement made that Geraldino, one of the Italians, and another officer named Deveroux, should conceal themselves with thirty men in a room adjoining the banqueting hall, whence they were to rush out at a given signal, and aid the other conspirators in their bloody work. At six o'clock in the evening of the 26th, all the doomed men, with the exception of Wallenstein, who excused himself on the plea of severe indisposition, entered the citadel of Eger, where they were received with affected cordiality by Gordon and his fellow conspirators: but no sooner had the last of them crossed the moat, than the drawbridge was raised, and the keys of the fortress placed in the hands of Leslie. Then followed one of those scenes with which the wild mercenaries of that day were but too familiar. Whilst the wine-cup passed from hand to hand, and the unsuspecting guests were drinking deeply to the health of their treacherous entertainers, a side door was suddenly thrown open, and Geraldino, at the head of six dragoons, armed with pikes and sabres, rushed towards the table, shouting in Italian "Viva la Casa d'Austria!" "Long live the House of Austria!" whilst from the opposite side a loud cry was heard, "Who is on the Emperor's side, who?" and Deveroux with four-and-twenty soldiers marched into the hall. Gordon and Leslie then extinguished the lights, and the assassins, falling on Kinski and Illow, despatched them before they could snatch their sabres from the wall: but Terzky, who had possessed himself of his sword

during the first confusion, fought so desperately that two of the assailants were stretched dead at his feet, and many more wounded, before the assassins could effect their purpose. Neumann had rushed out at the first appearance of danger, but being unacquainted with the conspirators' pass-word, was soon detected and put to death by the soldiers. The conspirators then proceeded to Wallenstein's quarters at the burgomaster's house, where they were admitted by the guard in the belief that they were the bearers of some important communication to their general. As they ascended the staircase, one of the servants implored them not to disturb his lord, who, worn out by long watching and the pain of an imperfectly healed wound, had just fallen into an uneasy slumber. "This is the time for disturbance," shouted Deveroux in a voice of thunder; and striking the servant down, he passed on to the chamber of Wallenstein, and bursting open the door found himself in presence of his victim, who had risen from bed at the first alarm, and advanced to meet the intruders. "Art thou not," exclaimed the assassin, "the villain who would carry over our army to the Swedes, and pluck the crown from our Emperor's head?" Wallenstein stretched out his arms without uttering a word, and Deveroux plunged a halberd into his breast. The body of the murdered man was then wrapped in a piece of tapestry, and conveyed to the citadel, whence it was afterwards removed to the Duke's burial place at Gitschin. Bernard of Weimar arrived soon afterwards, and found Eger in possession of the imperialists. The assassins Butler and Leslie were raised by the Emperor to the rank of Count, as having done good service to his cause. The landed possessions of Wallenstein were divided among his murderers; and what little remained of his personal property (for his false friend Piccolomini had appropriated the greater part to himself immediately after the Duke's death) was distributed among the soldiers. As soon as the Emperor received intelligence that his powerful general had ceased to live, he drew up and published a proclamation, in which an attempt was made to justify the murder. The character of Wallenstein was painted in the blackest colours: and acts which were afterwards proved by authentic documents to have been done with the consent, and even at the suggestion, of the Emperor himself, were brought forward as proofs of his guilt. The whole of Wallenstein's army, with the exception of a few regiments, which went over to the Swedes or Saxons, remained faithful to the

Emperor, whose eldest son Ferdinand was appointed general-in-chief, and Gallas second in command.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XLIX.

Character of Wallenstein.—Wallenstein's appearance was not much calculated to inspire either confidence or love. In person he was tall and meagre. A lofty forehead, beneath which flashed small and coal-black eyes, was surmounted by a head of coarse and short-cropped hair. His complexion was yellow and cadaverous; his mouth never relaxed into a smile, and was seldom even opened, except to utter a few words in a loud harsh voice, whose disagreeable tones he was unable to modify. His whole demeanour betrayed the coldness and severity of his disposition; but he was at the same time temperate and industrious. Suspicion and dissimulation were his ruling characteristics, though he sometimes assumed the appearance of openness and confidence. He punished every breach of discipline with immoderate severity. When informed of an act of disobedience committed by a soldier, he would often exclaim without further inquiry, "Hang the dog!" Nevertheless the liberality and magnificence of his disposition won him the love of his troops. He held it beneath his dignity to make a present of less than 1000 florins. He was solicitous for the comfort and well-being of his soldiers, and left them all the liberty they could desire to enrich themselves by plunder. His way of life was princely. In his stables at Prague 300 horses of the best breed were fed out of marble mangers. His household consisted of 900 persons, and on his table covers were daily laid for 100 guests. Yet he seldom made his appearance there himself. He regarded mankind with feelings of misanthropy, and shunned them as a base, ungrateful race. Even his wife and daughter he saw but seldom; an intimate friend he never possessed. Shut up in his lonely palace, his time was mostly spent either in consulting the stars with the astrologer Seni, or in brooding over his plans of immeasurable ambition. Yet from that palace he may almost be said to have ruled all Germany. The Emperor himself was frequently obliged to wink at his disobedience, for which Wallenstein never took the trouble to apologize.

CHAPTER L.

DEATH OF FERDINAND II., AND OF BERNARD OF SAXE WEIMAR.—
END OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

From A.D. 1633 to 1648.

HAD Bernard of Saxe Weimar been able to avail himself of the first moments of confusion consequent on the death of Wallenstein, he might have found means to disperse the imperial troops, which were in disorder for want of a leader. But the Swedes, jealous of the confidence reposed by Bernard in his German soldiers, refused to co-operate with him until it was too late. The consequence of this indecision was the loss of Ratisbon, which fell into the hands of the imperialists before it could be relieved. This calamity was soon followed by a bloody defeat at Nördlingen, where the Protestants lost 16,000 men. In Swabia, the citizens of Augsburg, after subsisting for some time on the dead bodies of men and all sorts of garbage, were compelled to purchase their lives at the expense of all their property and to embrace the Romish religion. These disasters had the effect which might have been anticipated on the wavering counsels of the Elector of Saxony, who, in the expectation that the Emperor's cause would soon be triumphant, hastened to conclude a peace on the best terms that he could obtain. The Elector of Brandenburg and the Duke of Lüneburg followed his example; and a convention was signed at Prague, in which these princes pledged themselves, as the price of their restoration to the Emperor's favour, to surrender to his tender mercies all their Protestant brethren in western and southern Germany. Meanwhile the Emperor was not idle. Preparations were made on a large scale for continuing the war; and the Dukedom of Franconia was promised to Bernard of Saxe Weimar, on condition of his joining the imperialists. Bernard saw that utter ruin to the Protestant cause would be the certain consequence of his abandoning it; but on the other hand, the introduction of the French into Germany, which seemed the only resource left to the allies, was a measure full of danger to the liberties of his country. After a severe struggle religious zeal prevailed over patriotism, and he refused the Emperor's offer. In the year 1636 Bernard visited Paris, where he was honourably received by Louis XIII., who

made promises to him in abundance, which were never fulfilled; for the French, notwithstanding the interest which they affected to take in the affairs of the German Protestants, were in reality only desirous that the two parties should wear each other out in a long struggle, when it would be easy for a French army to enter Germany and satisfy their ambitious cravings. It was on this occasion that, in an interview with Richelieu and his confidant, Father Joseph, the latter, who piqued himself on his military talents, opened a map and pointed out a plan of the campaign. "Ach," exclaimed Duke Bernard in his broken French, "that is all very good, Vater Jousef, if we could take towns with our fingers." Bernard returned to his camp, and soon afterwards, during the bombardment of Zabern, narrowly escaped death from a ball, which shattered his bed to atoms. A remarkable change had taken place in his character. Formerly he had allowed his soldiers the most unlimited licence; but during his residence at Paris, the queen, Anne of Austria, having implored him for her sake to have mercy on the weaker sex, Bernard promised faithfully to obey her commands, and so strictly kept his word, that the nuns of Remberville, surprised and delighted at a forbearance so uncommon in those days, overwhelmed him with expressions of gratitude, and presented him with a sword-belt of exquisite workmanship. Whilst the war was proceeding thus languidly, an episode was enacted worthy the brightest days of chivalry. The Cardinal Infant of Spain and Piccoluomini having invaded France from the Netherlands, Richelieu sent a force to repulse them. Whilst the two enemies lay in their encampments at Liège, General von Werth determined on his own responsibility to lead the cavalry of Piccoluomini to the very gates of Paris. Desperate as the attempt seemed, it was fully successful. The French troops fled before him, cities opened their gates, and the magistrates on bended knees presented their keys to the invader. Paris was panic-struck; and Werth might easily have made himself master of the place had not his troopers wasted time in plundering the surrounding country. This delay enabled Cardinal Richelieu to arm and send against the enemy all the disposable troops; but it was not until the autumnal rains brought sickness into his camp that the chivalrous invader abandoned his design, and rejoined the imperial army. In the year 1637 the aged Emperor died. Almost the last act of a life which had been one long display of ferocious cruelty, was to order the drowning of

some insurgents in Carinthia, and the infliction of horrible tortures on the peasants of Upper Austria. Few sovereigns have left behind them a more odious name. Under the cloak of religious zeal he sent fire and sword through his native land ; and that not so much from an honest conviction that the tenets of the Romish faith were true, as from an anxious desire to establish, at whatever cost of human suffering, the detestable principle "*cujus regio, ejus religio*," which both Romanist and Protestant sovereigns had been too ready to assert from time to time since the days of Luther. Heretics were therefore to be exterminated, not because their doctrines were damnable, but because those who presumed to differ from their sovereign were in his eyes guilty of rebellion. More than ten millions of human beings were sacrificed to this unjust and cruel policy. The Jesuits had impressed upon him the devilish maxim, that a land had better lie waste than harbour heretics and rebels ; and on this principle he had acted through life, and reduced the fair plains and fields of Germany to the condition of a howling wilderness, through which dissolute soldiers and half-starved miserable peasants, in whose breasts famine and suffering had extinguished the feelings of humanity, wandered like fiends, ready to devour alike friends and foes. The year in which the Emperor died a frightful famine was added to the other horrors of war. So ghastly was this visitation that men, to save their lives, disinterred and devoured the bodies of their fellow-creatures, and even hunted down human beings that they might feed on their flesh. The effect of this unnatural and loathsome diet was a pestilence, which swept away the soldiery as well as the people by thousands. In Pomerania hundreds destroyed themselves, being unable to endure the pangs of hunger. On the island of Rügen many poor creatures were found dead with their mouths full of grass, and in some districts attempts were made to knead earth into bread. Throughout Germany the licence of war and the misery consequent on famine and pestilence had so utterly destroyed the morality which was once the pride and boast of this land, that the people, a few years before the most simple and kind-hearted in Europe, now vied with the foreign mercenaries who infested their country in setting at nought the laws of God as well as of men. "Germany," says Betkius, in his '*Excidium Germaniæ*,' "lieth in the dust. Shame is her portion, and poverty and sickness of heart. The curse of God is on her, because of her cruelties, and blasphemies,

and bloodshed. Ten thousand times ten thousand souls, the spirits of innocent children butchered in this unholy war, cry day and night unto God for vengeance, and cease not: whilst those who have caused all these miseries live in peace and freedom; and the shouts of revelry and the voice of music are heard in their dwellings."

Ferdinand was succeeded on the imperial throne by his son Ferdinand III. Towards the end of this year (1637) Bernard of Saxe Weimar a second time visited Paris, and being supported by the confidential agent of Oxenstiern (the renowned Hugo Grotius, then an exile from Holland) succeeded in obtaining from the French government a sum of money sufficient to pacify his starving soldiery, who were committing horrible ravages in Champagne. In the following year the Protestants made themselves masters of the strong fortress of Breisach, during the siege of which Bernard, although lying sick of a fever, sprang from his bed, and mounting his charger, put to flight a body of the enemy who were coming to the relief of the place. Bernard's last hour was now approaching; and he seems to have had a melancholy foreboding of his death. "I am weary of my life," said he, after his soldiers, contrary to his express commands, had plundered a town which had fallen into his hands, "for I can no longer continue with a safe conscience amidst such lawless proceedings." And when the people thronged to pay homage to him on the road, he exclaimed, "I fear it will be with me as it was with the King of Sweden—as soon as the people honoured him more than God, he died." A few days later he was seized with an incurable illness, which he himself believed to be the effect of poison. They brought him by easy stages to Neuburg, where he died on the 8th July, 1639. "Germany," writes Grotius, "lost in him her ornament and her last hope; in a word, almost the only man who was worthy the name of a German prince." Rumour almost universally attributed his death to the French; although there were not wanting some who accused the Emperor of having poisoned him, and a few who believed that he died of fever. Thus was the Protestant cause a second time deprived of its head. Like his great master Gustavus Adolphus, Bernard died in the flower of his age, and was followed like him to the grave by the lamentations of those whom he had so often led to victory. In person he was well formed, with long hair flowing over his shoulders in a manner which would have given him an

appearance of effeminacy, but for the expression of his marked and sun-burnt features. Religion and war were the occupations of his life. Every day he devoted several hours to the study of the Bible, which he knew almost by heart. Only two regiments of his army wore uniforms; the rest were dressed in such clothes as they could obtain, and presented a wild and motley appearance. On their standard they bore the inscription "*perque enses perque ignes*," (through sword and fire)—or, "*fortiter agere et pati Bernardinum est*" (to do and to suffer bravely is the part of Bernard's followers). They carried their swords always naked, having no sheath for them, as we are told, but the bodies of their enemies. After Bernard's death the war was carried on for nine years longer, during which Generals Banner, Torstenson, and Wrangel succeeded one another in command of the Protestant army, and the imperial general Gallas was replaced by a renegade Calvinist named Melander von Holzapfel. The last event of this long and disastrous war was the taking of Prague by the Swedish general Königsmark. On the 24th of October, 1648, articles of peace were signed at Münster and Osnabrück in Westphalia. The Emperor agreed to pay the Swedes five millions of dollars as an indemnification for the expenses of the war, and to deliver up to them the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, the island of Rügen, and the greater part of Pomerania. The French were to continue in possession of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and the whole of Alsace, except Strasburg and the imperial cities in that country, instead of which they were to occupy Breisach, and the fortress of Philipsburg, the keys of Upper Germany. Peace was at the same time concluded between Spain and Holland, and the independence of the United Provinces fully recognised. Romanists and Protestants were now placed in all respects on an equal footing. All ecclesiastical property which had been appropriated by Protestants was to remain in their hands. The Emperor conceded this point, partly because it would have been hopeless to oppose it, and partly because he began himself to be aware of the advantages to be gained by robbing the church of her possessions. The Lutherans and Calvinists had now the good sense to lay aside their disputes, and to obtain the abrogation of that foolish and wicked law which would compel every subject to follow the religion of his sovereign. Thus terminated the Thirty Years' War, during which the best and bravest of the land had fallen victims to the

ambition of their own princes, or died in fighting against the oppressors of their country. It was reckoned that half the population of Germany had perished in the war. In Saxony 900,000 men were destroyed in two years. The population of Augsburg was reduced from 80,000 to 18,000, and so in proportion throughout the country. Meanwhile commerce and manufactures had been transferred to more favoured lands; whilst true religion, political freedom, and the arts of civilization were almost totally destroyed.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER L.

Religion.—More than two centuries had now passed away since the first attempt was made to reform the Church of Rome. The greater portion of that long period had been occupied in fierce struggles between the advocates of religious liberty, and those who would regulate according to their own depraved views the intercourse of man with his God. The cause of truth seemed at length to have triumphed over its enemies; yet the results were far different from those anticipated by the courageous reformers who had cheerfully renounced ease and reputation, and even life itself, for Christ's sake and the Gospel's. The northern part of Europe had indeed been brought out of darkness into comparative light: but the clouds of superstitious error lowered as murkily as ever over the fair regions of the south. Even the reformed churches were distracted by differences of belief and practice, which gave birth to incessant wranglings. The Protestants, it is true, rarely burnt at the stake those who differed from them on religious questions; but they stained their hands in the blood of helpless old women, whom their half-enlightened understandings condemned for unlawful intercourse with the powers of darkness.—Still much was gained by the establishment of man's right to learn from the Creator's own word the terms on which eternal life is promised, facilitated as the study of the Bible has been by the invention of printing, and the translation of the sacred writings into the languages of modern Europe. The South remained, as we have seen, subject to the see of Rome: Germany was partly Lutheran and partly Romanist; whilst in Holland as well as in all the Protestant cantons of Switzerland, the dominant religion was that of Zwingli and Calvin. Sweden, Norway, and Denmark were Lutheran,

France Romanist, with a numerous party belonging to the Reformed or Calvinistic faith. The Scotch embraced, generally speaking, the tenets of Calvin, with still more severe simplicity in the forms of public worship. In England the usurped authority of the Pope and the errors of Romanism were renounced without altogether abandoning that Catholic discipline which we believe to have been derived from the Apostles.

Manners and Customs.—In the manners and domestic habits of the people, great changes had taken place. The old German vice of drunkenness still remained; but the wines drunk were now generally imported from abroad: the tables of the wealthy were also furnished with the most luxurious dishes and the richest foreign sauces. In the time of Charles V. the Spanish garb became fashionable, but was afterwards supplanted by that of France. That the style of dress in those days was somewhat preposterous may be collected from the old German writers. One of them, a divine, thus addresses his congregation from the pulpit: “Your long frizzled hair looketh as if young cats had been sucking it, or as if the devil had dragged them through it by their tails. Out of the broad, stiff ruff, sticketh a long, lean, scraggy neck: and for your sleeves I can compare them to nothing but the bread-bag of a Landsknecht.” To this quaint apparel was superadded a pair of what were called trunk hose; a sort of trowsers, which were often so extravagantly ornamented, that a pair of them cost the year’s rent of several villages.

The amusements of the people were sporting, shooting at the target, games of tennis, skittles, cards and dice, and theatrical exhibitions, which were introduced, or at least greatly improved, by Hans Sachs. Among the Romanists religious processions were in high favour. We are told that at an exhibition of this kind given by William, Duke of Bavaria, in 1580, on Corpus Christi-day, all the saints of the Old and New Testament appeared dressed in character. Adam and Eve were nearly in a state of nature—St. Augustine wore a superb pair of whiskers. There were also sixteen Marias, of whom the most beautiful stood under a canopy of clouds, with the moon beneath her feet. The procession was closed by a group of Scribes and Pharisees, gods of Olympus, hangmen, shepherds, giants, and Pharaohs. In such disturbed times the fine arts were but indifferently cultivated. Albert Dürer, Holbein, Cranach, and a few others were distinguished as painters. In architecture the old German style had generally given place to

the Italian. Music was chiefly cultivated by Italian artists in the imperial chapel at Vienna: although the exertions made by Luther to improve the choirs in the Protestant churches were by no means unsuccessful. During the progress of the Reformation, the German language underwent a complete revolution. Luther's translation of the Bible, his hymns and sermons, all in that tongue, having prepared the way for its general adoption by the learned in the place of Latin, the dialect which he spoke (that of the province of Meissen) became the foundation of the High German or language of literature. Popular poetry was cultivated by the master-minstrels (Meistersänger) who formed guilds in the cities, and made a trade of versification, and the Christmas and Shrovetide mummeries. A better style was introduced during the Thirty Years' War by Martin Opitz, and his contemporaries, Paul Gerhard (a sacred poet of great eminence), and Paul Flemming. In astronomy, Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, and Kepler were distinguished. Fifteen new universities were founded between 1500 and 1623: yet the absurd sciences of alchymy and astrology, and the belief in the philosopher's stone, revelation by dreams, and witchcraft, flourished as much as before. In the beginning of the seventeenth century Valentine Andrea founded the sect of the Rosicrucians, who chiefly followed the wild alchymical dreams of Paracelsus. We have also a long list of chroniclers and writers of satirical poetry, none of whom are worthy of particular notice. Watches began to be manufactured in great quantities at Nuremberg in the sixteenth century. They were called Nuremberg eggs. Homelius made a curious astronomical clock for Charles V. The telescope and microscope were invented by Zacharias Jansen at Middelburg in the year 1590. The first German newspaper was printed at Frankfort on the Main, in 1645. Lotteries were established in 1520; the spinning-wheel was invented in 1530 by Jürgen of Brunswick, and the air-pump in 1650.

Increase in the number of Electors.—At the peace of Westphalia the Palatine of the Rhine was re-admitted to the privileges of which he had been unjustly deprived in 1623, and the Duke of Bavaria being at the same time allowed to retain his electoral hat, with the Upper Palatinate, the number of electors was increased to eight.

Hugo Grotius.—Hugh de Groot, commonly called Hugo Grotius, was born at Delft in Holland, on the 10th of April,

1583, and in 1613 was made one of the Syndics of Rotterdam. Being brought to trial for his political conduct, he was condemned to imprisonment for life, but escaped through the contrivance of his wife, who conveyed him out of prison in a chest which had been carried into his room full of books. He resided a long time in France under the protection of Richelieu. In 1634 Grotius entered into the service of Sweden, and was appointed Swedish minister at the French court. Travelling through Holland on his journey back to Stockholm, he was received with enthusiasm by his countrymen, who now regretted having driven him from his native land. Grotius died at Rostock in Pomerania on the 28th of August, 1645. Few men have united such various talents. As a lawyer his works on the law of nations, and particularly on maritime law, deserve great praise; and his commentary on the Old Testament, and essay '*De Veritate Religionis Christianæ*,' place him in a high rank among theologians. His poetical works in Latin and Dutch have also been greatly admired.

CHAPTER LI.

FERDINAND III.—LEOPOLD I.—PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.—PEACE
OF NIMEGUEN.

From A.D. 1648 to 1678.



The Imperial Hall at Frankfort.

THE century which succeeded the peace of Westphalia has been called "le siècle de Louis Quatorze," from the prominent position occupied by that luxurious tyrant, and the consequent influence of French example on the political as well as moral character of other states. "It is, alas! but too notorious," says an honest German writer of that day, "that ever since the French devil hath possessed us Germans a sore change hath taken place in our way of living, our manners and usages. Formerly the French were held cheap by us, but now-a-days everything must be French—French speech, French clothes, French dishes, French furniture, French dances, French diseases: and I fear me, French death, as a necessary consequence of the same; for nothing better can be expected from the excesses in which we indulge." The brilliant court of Louis XIV. was the school at which the nobles of Germany acquired the art of squandering in shameless luxury the gold which it taught them to wring from the hard hands of an impoverished and broken-spirited peasantry. Young men were sent thither to complete their education, and

returned to their own country, each fully determined to play the part of a Louis on the small stage which Providence had assigned to him. In Saxony, which had been impoverished and well-nigh depopulated during the Thirty Years' War, the Elector John George II. remodelled his court on a scale of splendour which for a time rivalled that of Versailles. A numerous and well-appointed body-guard, attendants in gorgeous uniforms, luxurious banquets, hunting parties, theatrical exhibitions, operas (a luxury which it had been lately the fashion to import at an enormous expense from Italy), regattas, and displays of fireworks on the Elbe, collections of rarities and cabinets of art, exhausted the electoral treasury, and at last reduced the nation to bankruptcy. In Bavaria the Elector built the palaces of Schleisheim and Nymphenburg, in imitation of Versailles and Marly, and gave entertainments in the French style. In Brunswick-Lüneburg the sovereign carried his affection for foreign artists so far as to make his Italian singing-master his prime minister. Frederick William of Brandenburg, whom the people always called *the Great Elector*, was, by his political and military abilities, his true German feelings, and the purity of his character, an honourable exception from this herd of depraved princes. At the imperial court the old Spanish etiquette still reigned with absolute sway. Ferdinand III. was succeeded by his son Leopold in 1657, in spite of the intrigues and bribery of Louis XIV., who had expended an enormous sum in corrupting the Electors. Leopold, surnamed "The Thicklipped," had been originally educated for the priesthood; and when, on the death of his elder brother, he emerged from the cloister, his habits and demeanour were more monkish than princely—cold, reserved, and solemn, he exhibited to the casual observer an appearance of wisdom which ill-accorded with the contemptible weakness of his political conduct. "What a pity," said a music-master, whom his performance on the violin had thrown into a paroxysm of delight, "what a pity that your majesty is a king, and not a fiddler!" It will readily be understood that such an Emperor, endued by nature with a very moderate share of ability, weak of purpose, and only eighteen years of age, could offer but a feeble resistance to the machinations of Louis, who had concluded with the Electors of Mentz and Cologne, the Bishop of Münster, and other princes, an alliance called the Rhenish Confederacy, the avowed object of which was the maintenance of the Westphalian peace, although it was

well known that the real intention of the French king was to insulate the Emperor, and thus prevent any interference with those operations in the Netherlands which were intended as a prelude to an attempt on the imperial crown itself. Frederick William of Brandenburg alone, immediately after the conclusion of this ill-omened alliance, protested against it in the following proclamation addressed to the people of Germany:—"Countrymen! your native land has been sorely misguided under the pretence of religion and freedom. We have sacrificed our blood, our honour, and our name, and received nothing in return but the privilege of serving foreign nations, who now enjoy the lofty reputation which once was ours. What are the Rhine, the Elbe, the Weser, the Oder—but prisoners in the hands of our enemies? and our freedom and our religion, what are they, but the playthings of haughty and insulting foreigners?" He concludes by calling on his countrymen to assist the Poles, then threatened by the Swedish king, Charles Gustavus, and support them as one of the "outworks" of the German Empire. Meanwhile Louis had conciliated Holland by a promise of sharing with her the fruits of his conquests in the Spanish Netherlands; but scarcely had a French army under Marshal Turenne taken possession of that country, when the Dutch recollected that a weak neighbour like Spain was less dangerous than their new allies; and forming a triple alliance with England and Sweden, compelled Louis to conclude a peace at Aix-la-Chapelle, by the terms of which he was allowed to retain twelve Netherlandish towns.—(A. D. 1668.) This compact was soon broken by Louis, who sought to ruin Holland by withdrawing her allies. The Dutch, who might easily have made head against him, were now exhausting their resources in struggles with England for the supremacy of the seas. Ever since the year 1650 the country had been ruled by the republican party, at the head of which was the famous De Witt. During Cromwell's usurpation the Dutch republic had made peace with England; but no sooner was Charles II. restored than the clashing interests of the two nations again brought on a war, which continued until the year 1667. In 1671 Louis, who had persuaded the Emperor and Charles II. to join him, entered Holland with an army of 200,000 men. At the same time the warlike Bishop of Münster invaded the country on the opposite side. The Dutch, not anticipating such an attack, had allowed their fortified places to become ruinous, and could hardly

bring 20,000 men into the field. As a necessary consequence, town after town fell into the hands of the French, but the brave determination of the Zealanders (who pledged themselves to fight under the Prince of Orange, and if all were lost to yield to the English rather than the French) revived the drooping courage of their countrymen. De Witt was reproached with having suffered their fortresses to fall into decay, and his life attempted by an assassin, who inflicted a severe wound. Meanwhile the partisans of William of Orange, then in his twenty-second year, were rousing the nation with the cry of "*Oranje boven,*" *Up with Orange*. Hats were decorated with orange-coloured ribbons, and on every tower waved a banner with the inscription—

Up with Orange, down with Witt;
Him who says nay, may thunder split.*

At the same time the dykes were cut, and many acres of rich land inundated, in order to wash away, as they phrased it, the French pollution from the free soil of Holland. At Coeverden the dyke gave way and drowned 1400 of the bishop's soldiers. During these proceedings Louis quitted Holland, leaving Turenne with a force which could only act as an army of observation. The immediate cause of this movement was the withdrawal of the Emperor from the French alliance and the sending of a German army to co-operate with the Dutch. Meanwhile the city of Amsterdam was the scene of a bloody tragedy. John de Witt, scarcely recovered from his wound, was murdered with his brother Cornelius by a furious mob, who cut their bodies in pieces and sold the mangled remains to the partisans of Orange. In the year 1673 Louis returned in person to Holland, determined to put an end to the war. In this campaign the most atrocious acts of barbarity were perpetrated by the French soldiers, who drove the unfortunate peasants barefoot through the snow or buried them up to the neck in ice. Women were hung up by the hair of their heads and served as targets; and one poor old creature had a cat fastened to her body which tore her to pieces, amidst shouts of ferocious merriment. The fall of Ghent and Ypres, and a severe check received by William of Orange near St. Omer, disposed the Dutch to listen to proposals of

* *Oranje boven, en Witt onder;
Die' et anders meent, sla de donder.*

peace,* which was concluded at Nimeguen in the year 1678, on terms not very creditable to the Spaniards, who were compelled to yield possession of Burgundy and the twelve frontier towns of the Netherlands. The following year the Elector of Brandenburg, who had been fighting successfully against the Swedes, was obliged to restore all the places which he had won in Pomerania, because the Emperor, prompted by the French, had declared that he would have no new Vandal kings on the shores of the Baltic.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER LI.

Christina of Sweden.—Christina, the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, became a Romanist, and abdicated in the year 1654 in favour of Prince Gustavus of Zweibrücken-Birkenfeld, who had gained the affections of the Swedes during the Thirty Years' War. After his death in 1667 Christina made an ineffectual attempt to resume the crown.

CHAPTER LII.

THE REUNION CHAMBERS.—DEATH OF THE GREAT ELECTOR.—PEACE OF RYSWICK.

From A.D. 1680 to 1697.

THE peace of Nimeguen, concluded under circumstances so favourable to France, irritated, instead of satisfying, the ambitious longings of Louis XIV. In the insolence of his triumph, he caused a statue to be cast, representing himself in the attitude of a conqueror, treading under foot four slaves loaded with fetters, and severally distinguished by the emblems of Germany, Spain, Holland, and Brandenburg: and commanded an ingenious mechanician to construct a timepiece, in which a cock (Gallus) crowed the hours, whilst an eagle, the emblem of Germany, was made to quake and tremble at the sound. This outbreak of childish exultation was soon followed by an act of more substantial wrong. Suddenly, and without any previous hint of his

* Charles II. of England had been compelled by his parliament to renounce the French alliance, and make peace with the Dutch in 1673.

design, Louis announced to the Emperor that he required the restitution of all cities which had at any time belonged to the German provinces now incorporated with France, and appointed boards of commissioners, called the "Reunion Chambers," to make diligent search among the ancient records of Burgundy and Alsace. Having received their report, Louis at once took possession of seignories, convents, and abbeys, many of which had been separated for more than a thousand years from the provinces to which he now sought to reunite them.

The intelligence of this atrocious act spread consternation throughout the Empire: but while, with the phlegmatic slowness proper to their race, the members of the Germanic diet continued to sit in deliberation at Ratisbon, their active and unscrupulous assailant followed up his first measures by a stroke of still more daring insolence. Among all the cities on the Rhine none contained inhabitants more thoroughly German in language, in manners, and in feelings than the great commercial town of Strasburg: but a liberal distribution of French gold having secured for Louis a party among the magistrates, one Günzer, who, on account of his acquaintance with the French language, had long been employed as the medium of communication between Louis and his German partisans, was commissioned to organize a conspiracy within the walls; whilst the French troops were advanced cautiously and silently nearer and nearer to the town. At length in the month of September, 1680, when most of the substantial citizens were absent at the fairs, which are held at Frankfort and other towns at that season of the year, the place was suddenly summoned to surrender. After a feeble resistance (for the defenders were few and dispirited, and their weapons, through the foresight of Günzer, in an unserviceable condition), Strasburg, the seat of German learning, and the centre of her manufacturing industry, fell into the hands of the French, none daring to protest against the surrender except one old man, and he a tailor. The gates being thrown open, Louis at the head of a splendid train of knights and courtiers entered the town, and bowed to receive the blessing of the bishop, who blasphemously adapted to this occasion the language of Simeon, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word: for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." A strong French garrison was placed in the town, and thousands of workmen employed in strengthening the fortifications, so that in a few weeks

Strasburg was in a condition to bid defiance to any force which the Emperor might bring against it. The great minster, which had long been used for Protestant worship, was given up to the bishop; all Protestant functionaries suspended from their offices, the Lutheran clergy driven from the city, and their flocks compelled to wander forth in search of that protection which the conqueror refused to grant, although the maintenance of Protestantism was the condition on which they had consented to surrender the place. French names were given to the streets, and the inhabitants commanded, under heavy penalties, to lay aside the German costume, and adopt the newest fashions of France. The princes and cities drew up a protest, which Brandenburg, still smarting under his wrongs, refused to sign: and the Turks having about the same time invaded Austria and threatened the Emperor in his capital, nothing remained for a man of Leopold's feeble temper but to conclude a discreditable peace, by which he yielded to France all the possessions claimed by the report of the "Reunion Chambers," with the addition of Luxemburg and the city of Strasburg. Had Brandenburg been true to his country, or Leopold possessed the firmness and sagacity of Charles V., Germany would have been spared this foul disgrace. "I swear," said Charles, "that if the French were before Strasburg, and the Turks at the gate of Vienna, I would leave Vienna to its fate, and march to the relief of Strasburg." Leopold chose the opposite course, and inflicted a wound on Germany which rankles to the present hour in the hearts of her patriots. Whilst Louis was thus employed in the west, his emissaries were labouring successfully to raise a storm which should burst on the Empire from its eastern frontier. Leopold's own violence soon brought on the crisis. A conspiracy of the nobles having been discovered in Hungary, all the leaders were put to death: and before men's minds were well recovered from the surprise and terror into which this act of severity had thrown them, two hundred and fifty Lutheran ministers were summoned to Presburg to be tried on a similar charge, and sold as galley-slaves to the Neapolitans, although no evidence of their guilt had been brought forwards. The people, thus deprived of their pastors, and persecuted beyond endurance by the Jesuits, broke out into rebellion, and in their despair invoked the assistance of the Turks, who, yielding at last to the unwearied solicitations of the French emissaries, consented to send 280,000 men into Hungary under the command of

their grand vizier Kara Mustapha. A panic went before this overwhelming force, which advanced almost without opposition to the very walls of Vienna, the Hungarians, under Tekeli, taking the left bank of the Danube, and Kara Mustapha the right. The city was on the point of surrendering after a siege of two months, when the commandant Count Stahrenberg ordered, as a last resource, a flight of rockets to be let off from the tower of St. Stephen's church. A few moments of anxious suspense followed, and then a bright flame shooting upwards from the mountain of Kahlenberg announced to the besieged that succour was at hand. The Emperor had assembled a force more rapidly than he had anticipated, and was now advancing with a large army of Germans and Poles, under the command of the Polish King John Sobieski. So ignorant were the Turks of military tactics, that they had neglected to occupy the passes, and were in consequence surprised by the imperial forces, and utterly defeated, their artillery, baggage, and treasure, with the whole correspondence between Louis XIV. and the Grand Vizier, falling into the hands of the conqueror. The following day the King of Poland entered Vienna amidst the acclamations of the citizens, whom his valour had saved from death or slavery: but the Emperor, with the mean jealousy which belonged to his character, received him with insulting coldness, and refused to provide quarters for his army. No sooner was the Empire delivered from the Turks than Leopold suffered the full weight of his vengeance to fall on the devoted Hungarians, hundreds of whom were imprisoned, tortured, and put to death by sentence of a court called, from its atrocious cruelty, the "Shambles of Eperies." The right of electing their own king was at the same time taken from the Hungarians, and the crown made hereditary in the family of Habsburg. Meanwhile Louis XIV. was straining every nerve to obtain the Palatinate, vacant by the death of the Palatine Lewis, a mild and tolerant prince, whose life had been passed in ineffectual attempts to reconcile the conflicting religious parties. The German princes formed a confederacy for the purpose of resisting this aggression, but all remained tranquil until the year 1688, when a trifling accident fired the train. It is said that Louis, whilst inspecting the building of one of his castles, discovered a fault in the construction of a window; for which he rated his minister of war Louvois so roundly, that the minister, anticipating an uneasy life if the active mind of his master were

allowed to employ itself in trifles, resolved to find him more serious occupation, and proposed a fresh war with Germany. Louis readily adopted the suggestion, and commenced the campaign by sending an army into the Palatinate under General Melac, who burnt Worms, Mannheim, Oppenheim, Baden, and many other towns, and violated the tombs of the German Emperors at Spires. The inhabitants were treated with the most brutal and relentless cruelty. In the spring of this year the "Great Elector," Frederick William of Brandenburg, died. For many months he had been suffering severely from dropsy, which at last reached such a height as to baffle all medical skill. Feeling that death was near, he summoned his son and counsellors to his chamber, and solemnly bade them farewell. He had carried on many wars, he said, had suffered care and anxiety himself, and inflicted grievous ills on other men; "but God knoweth," continued the dying man, "in what a state I found the country at my father's death, and what I have done for it." He then exhorted his son to follow his example, to act circumspectly, be always prepared to defend his native land, to love his subjects, and listen to the suggestions of his faithful counsellors. Having thus set his house in order, the Great Elector died in peace on the 29th of April, having governed Brandenburg and Prussia eight and forty years, and laid the foundation of one of the mightiest European powers. So universal was the feeling of alarm excited in Germany by the intrigues of French agents, that it was resolved, at a diet held at Ratisbon, to prohibit all intercourse with France: and at the same time, in order to make the confederation of German princes more firm and united, the Emperor created a ninth Elector in the person of Ernest Augustus Duke of Brunswick-Hanover.* Germany, England, and Spain then formed an alliance, and declared war against France: but little was done until the year 1690, when the Dutch general Waldeck was utterly routed by the Marshal de Luxembourg at Fleurus; and in the following year Namur was carried by storm, and Liège bombarded. In 1692 William III. of England, who had just taken the command of the allies, sustained such a defeat at Steenkirk as would have tarnished his military reputation, but

* The Electoral College now consisted of the following members:—

Saxony, Brandenburg, Hanover—Protestant	} Temporal Electors.
Bohemia, Bavaria, the Palatinate—Romanist	
Mentz, Trèves, Cologne—Spiritual Electors.	

for the masterly style in which his retreat was conducted: and about the same time the French gratified their ferocious love of mischief by blowing up the castle of Heidelberg. Hendersdorf, the cowardly commandant of the place, was degraded from the Teutonic Order, and drawn on a hurdle to the imperial camp, where his sword was broken before his face by the common executioner. At length a peace was concluded at Ryswick (A.D. 1697) on terms sufficiently humiliating to the allies, the French King being allowed to retain all his conquests except Lorraine, the Palatinate, and Philipsburg. It is worthy of remark that this treaty was drawn up in French instead of Latin, the language hitherto employed in such instruments.

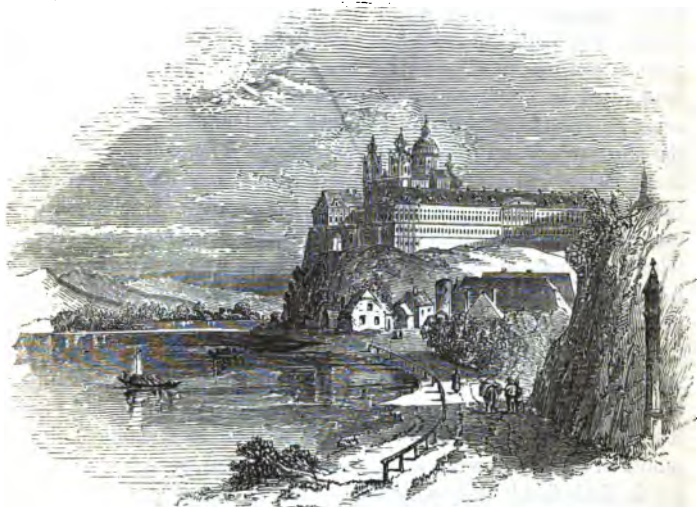
SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER LII.

Political Character of the Great Elector.—The measures of the Elector, both in Brandenburg and Prussia, were exceedingly arbitrary. Those who opposed his encroachments on the ancient privileges of the nobles and burghers were arrested, and punished with perpetual imprisonment or death. In Brandenburg base money was coined, and heavy taxes imposed in order to raise funds for the payment of his troops. The illiberality of the Lutheran clergy would have been some excuse for his severity towards them, had he not himself been guilty of similar intolerance, in endeavouring to force on them his own (the reformed) religion. Paul Gerhard, the renowned preacher and poet, chose rather to go into exile than sign the articles which the Elector sought to impose on the Prussian community.

CHAPTER LIII.

WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.—JOSEPH I.—CHARLES VI.—PEACE
OF UTRECHT.

From A.D. 1700 to 1714.



Convent of Mülk on the Danube—built between 1707 and 1736.

It soon appeared that Louis had wished for peace in order to obtain a breathing-time, during which he might collect his forces for a fiercer struggle. In the year 1700 Charles II., King of Spain, died without issue, bequeathing the whole of his inheritance to the Prince of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV. As the crafty Frenchman had anticipated, this bequest was disputed by the Emperor, who claimed the Spanish crown for his son, as being a lineal descendant of Charles V., the first Spanish monarch of the race of Habsburg. Of all the European nations the Spaniards alone viewed the approaching struggle with indifference, for to them it was a matter of little moment under what task-master they were in future to groan. The rest sided with France or Germany as their fears or their inclination dictated. England and Holland,

the hereditary enemies of France, naturally supported the claims of the Archduke Charles; whilst the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria, the Dukes of Savoy and Mantua, and the Pope, declared themselves favourable to Philip of Anjou. The grant of an electoral hat to Hanover had made that prince a firm ally of Austria. Frederick III. of Brandenburg, son of the Great Elector, was also conciliated by permission to assume the title of King of Prussia. Saxony, although favourable to the Emperor, was too much engaged with the Poles to take any part in the war. William of England, who had visited the Continent for the purpose of settling an alliance between Austria, England, and Holland, died in 1702, and was succeeded in the command of the army by John Churchill, Earl (afterwards Duke) of Marlborough, the most renowned general of his time. The command of the Imperialists was given to Eugene of Savoy, who had served several campaigns under the generals of Louis XIV., but, being disgusted at his slow promotion, had entered the Imperial service, where he rose so rapidly that in 1697 he was entrusted with a force destined to act against the Turks in Hungary. Neither the person nor costume of Prince Eugene had greatly improved since the days when Louis XIV. nicknamed him his little "Abbé." An ill-made, shabby blue surtout, with large tarnished brass buttons, hung in folds about his meagre figure; whilst his head, loaded with one of the enormous wigs then in fashion, and surmounted by a battered and napless cocked hat, seemed too heavy for the little feeble body which sustained it: and as he rode through the ranks, perched on a tall raw-boned charger, the soldiers could scarcely conceal their laughter at his grotesque appearance. But his personal bravery, the kindness of his manners, and above all his attachment to the country of his adoption, soon rendered him popular among the troops; whilst his great and varied talents, and the unspotted integrity of his life, procured him the unbounded confidence of Leopold, who invested him with an authority which no commander-in-chief had been permitted to exercise since the days of Wallenstein. The French opened the campaign in 1701, in Italy, where their generals Catinat and Villeroi were totally defeated by Prince Eugene. Meanwhile Marshal Boufflers, who had entered the Netherlands with a French army, was kept in check by Marlborough. In June, 1703, the Elector of Bavaria entered the Tyrol at the head of 16,000 men, leaving Marshal Villars to watch the movements of the Imperial army. Having

made themselves masters of Innsbruck, the main body of the Bavarians began to ascend the Brenner, leaving a detachment under General Nouvion to follow up their advantages on the banks of the Inn. As night closed in, a line of signal-fires announced to the invaders that the people were on foot, and prepared to oppose their progress. Still Nouvion's detachment continued their march until they reached the broken bridge of Pontelag, and were endeavouring to ford the river, when a storm of bullets from the Tyrolese marksmen (who took their aim with deadly accuracy from behind the crags which concealed them from the enemy) compelled the Bavarians first to halt, and then to retreat to the bank which they had just quitted. Scarcely had they reached their former position when the mountains above them seemed to burst asunder and discharge huge fragments of rock, which fell with a terrible crash on the heads of the soldiers. A general panic now seized the Bavarians, who fled in disorder towards the bridge of Zams. But here also they found the bridge broken down and the river unfordable; and being thus hemmed in on every side, and finding resistance and flight equally impracticable, they laid down their arms and surrendered to Martin Sterzinger, the Tyrolese commander. Meanwhile the Elector, after retreating from the Brenner, had cut his way through the Tyrolese and returned to Bavaria, with the loss of more than two-thirds of his army.

The campaign of 1704 was opened with great spirit by the allies. On the 13th of August the French were defeated at Blenheim or Hochstädt by Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, who had given Marshal Villars the slip, and effected a junction with the prince. Out of 58,000 men 20,000 were slain, and 15,000, including the French commander, Marshal Tallard, and 818 other officers, were taken prisoners. A rich military chest, 117 pieces of cannon, 24 mortars, 300 stands of colours, 5300 waggons, 3600 tents, 330 laden mules, 34 coaches full of ladies, and two floating bridges, fell into the hands of the allies; who, on their side, lost 12,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. For this service Marlborough was created a Prince of the Empire, and presented with the estate of Mindelheim. The following year Barcelona was taken by the Earl of Peterborough; but in the midst of a career of victory almost unparalleled in history, he was suddenly recalled and the command given to the Earl of Galway, who was shortly afterwards defeated and compelled to:

abandon the whole of Spain, with the exception of Gibraltar, which had been previously taken by the English Admiral Sir George Rooke. Leopold died in the same year. Joseph I., who had been elected King of the Romans during his father's lifetime, succeeded as a matter of course to the Imperial throne. Prince Eugene, now free from the trammels in which he had been held by the government of the late Emperor, entered Italy, which he compelled the French to evacuate, after defeating them at Turin. In the Netherlands Marlborough pursued his career of victory, defeating the French at Ramilies in 1706, and at Oudenarde, in conjunction with Prince Eugene, in 1708. They rallied, however, in the following year only to be overthrown at Malplaquet, where the two great commanders carried into effect the combined movements which they had previously planned. In this battle Eugene was wounded, but refused to quit the field. "If I live until the evening," said he, "it will then be time enough to dress my wound." Marshal Villars was also wounded in the knee, but continued to give his orders until faintness overpowered him. Louis XIV. now sued for peace; but the allies, intoxicated, it would seem, by their recent successes, refused to listen to any terms of accommodation unless Louis pledged himself not only to renounce his grandson, but to send an army into Spain to compel his abdication. This was an insult which the proud spirit of the French monarch could not brook, and the negotiations were broken off, never again to be renewed under circumstances so favourable to the Germans. Marlborough had been driven from the councils of Queen Anne, and the Tories, who succeeded him, were by no means desirous that Charles VI. (now raised to the Imperial throne by the death of his father in 1710) should wear, like Charles V., the crowns of two mighty kingdoms. The Dutch having also withdrawn from the German alliance, the two powers concluded a peace with the French at Utrecht. Whilst the negotiations were pending Prince Eugene visited London, in the hope of averting from his adopted country the evils to which she would be exposed if England left her to struggle alone. But the sun of Marlborough had set, and Queen Anne, although she received the illustrious stranger with every external mark of honour, and presented him with a diamond-hilted sword, gave him no encouragement to appear a second time at court. The common people alone greeted the hero of Turin and Malplaquet with a hearty welcome, following him wherever he went, and display-

ing their courage and anti-Tory zeal in street skirmishes, during one of which the nephew of Eugene lost his life. Although abandoned by England and Holland, the Empire might yet have made head against the French, and forced from them an advantageous peace, but for the shameful want of unanimity which disgraced the councils of her princes. In vain did Eugene implore them to rise in a mass, like the brave Tyrolese, and crush their enemies. "I stand," says he, in one of his letters, "like a sentinel on the Rhine; and as mine eye wanders over those fair regions, I think within myself how happy, and beautiful, and undisturbed in the enjoyment of Nature's gifts they might be, if they possessed courage to use the strength which God hath given them. With an army of 200,000 men I would engage to drive the French out of Germany, and (as I once told the Elector of Mentz) would forfeit my life if I did not obtain a peace which should gladden all our hearts for the next twenty years. The Elector only stared at me. Truly the days of Charlemagne are past. We are more polished now, but I fear me in rubbing off the roughness we have also got rid of the spirit and energy of the olden times." After some discussion peace was concluded at Baden in the year 1714. The peace of Utrecht was fully recognized; Philip retained Spain, and England Gibraltar, whilst Charles VI. received as an indemnification all the Spanish possessions in Italy (of which in point of fact he was already master), Sardinia, the Netherlands, and the fortresses of Kehl, Friburg, and Breisach. The following year Austria exchanged Sardinia for Sicily with the Duke of Savoy, who immediately assumed the title of King of Sardinia. Frederick of Prussia obtained Neufchâtel, in Switzerland, as heir of its former possessor, Marie de Nemours, a relation of the house of Brandenburg. Thus ended the war of the Spanish succession, in which streams of blood were shed, and millions of treasure squandered, with no result beyond that of placing the contending parties in nearly the same position which they had occupied before it began. The same year Louis XIV. and Queen Anne of England died.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER LIII.

Occupation of Ulm by the Elector Maximilian.—A publication of that day describes quaintly enough the entry of Maximilian into Ulm, which had previously admitted some

Bavarian officers in the disguise of peasant-girls. "His Highness came down in propriâ personâ, mounted on a cropped grey horse, in a red coat, and his hat slouched over his face. One peasant started so at his Highness's aspect that he upset his waggon in the middle of the street. Hardly had he reached the Spittal-garden (where a butcher's man stopped the way with the carcase of a dead cow, until the people with sundry blows and thwacks compelled him to go on) when he was welcomed with a salvo of artillery, which had like to have proved fatal to his Highness, through two of the pieces being overladen. At the hostelry of the Swan, the Bavarian officers drank the King of France's health with loud acclamations, and such hearty goodwill, that the street in front of the hostelry was strewn with fragments of broken glasses. Mine hostess must perforce drink with them: but she cried out 'Leopold for ever!' and flung the glass over her head—and it remained unbroken! Soon afterwards the French entered the town and dealt with us far worse than the Bavarians. One of their soldiers leaped into the pulpit where the pastor Lomer was preaching, and would have wrested the prayer-book out of his hands; but Master Lomer, being a strong man, did deal him such a cuff as sent him staggering into the midst of the church, to the great delight and edification of the people."

Charles XII. of Sweden.—The accession of Charles XII., a lad of fifteen, was hailed by the enemies of Sweden as affording them an opportunity of avenging the wrongs which they had sustained at the hands of his father and grandfather. No sooner however did the intelligence of an alliance between Denmark, Poland, and Russia reach the ears of the young monarch, than he called together his council and addressed them in these memorable words:—"I am resolved never to wage an unjust war, and never to abandon a just one until I have utterly destroyed my enemies." In the summer of 1700 Charles bombarded Copenhagen, and having forced the King to sue for peace, marched into Livonia, where he twice defeated the Czar of Russia, Peter the Great. In the year 1707 (after a series of victories over the Poles) he conceived the design of confronting the Czar in the very centre of his dominions. But the Russian armies, no longer the ill-disciplined and half-armed hordes whose crowded ranks had been mowed down by the Swedes at Narva and on the banks of the Dwina, were now regularly exercised

in the military manœuvres of civilized Europe. The nucleus of a fleet had also been created by the Czar, whose residence in England and Holland had given him a practical acquaintance with naval architecture: and a fair city was rapidly covering the marshy ground on the banks of the Neva, at an inconsiderable distance from the Gulf of Finland, within the very frontier of Sweden herself. On the 9th of July, 1709, the Swedish army, reduced by cold and hunger to eighteen thousand men, was utterly routed by an overwhelming Russian force at Pultawa in the Ukraine. After a series of almost incredible hardships and dangers, Charles reached the frontier of Turkey, and fixed his residence in the city of Bender, where he remained until the year 1714. On the 20th of December, 1715, he landed at Carls-crona, having escaped in a small boat from Stralsund, which he had been endeavouring to defend against the armies of Denmark and Prussia. Three years later he was slain by a cannon-ball whilst reconnoitring the fortress of Frederichshall in Norway.

CHAPTER LIV.

RISE OF THE KINGDOM OF PRUSSIA.—FREDERICK I.—

FREDERICK WILLIAM I.

THE elevation of the electorate of Brandenburg to the rank of a kingdom, as mentioned in the preceding chapter, was owing to the vanity of Frederick III., the son of "the Great Elector." Von Kolbe, an artful and unprincipled favourite, who had ingratiated himself with the elector by introducing to him as a mistress his own wife, the daughter of a publican at Emmerich, sought to retain his favour by flattering his ruling passion. With this view he inspired his master with the idea of becoming a king, and artfully excited his envy and ambition by citing the examples of William of Orange, who had become king of England, and of Augustus of Saxony, who not long before had renounced his religion and accepted the crown of Poland. According to the notions of that age, it was, however, impossible for Frederick, as a prince of the Empire, to become King of Brandenburg, though, as Duke of Prussia, there was nothing to prevent his assuming the royal dignity. But the matter was one of no small difficulty

and labour. There was no precedent for the creation of so small a kingdom; and it was necessary that the new dignity should be recognized not only by the Emperor, but by the surrounding states. Kolbe, however, was indefatigable; and by means of bribes, in which he is said to have spent six millions of Prussian dollars (or nearly a million sterling), at length succeeded in procuring the desired honour. The coronation of Frederick I. of Prussia took place at Königsberg in 1701. He placed the crown on his own head, and afterwards on that of his queen. Frederick, though deformed in person in consequence of a fall when an infant from the arms of his nurse, was a great lover of state and pageantry. The new court was as stiff and ceremonious as that of Spain itself. The king surrounded his person with Swiss guards, built a splendid palace at Berlin, and introduced into that capital a taste for fine clothes, luxury, and show. It was these qualities which caused his grandson, the Great Frederick, to characterize him as "great in little things, and little in great ones."

The erection of the Prussian kingdom, which, in the manner of its origin, seemed only a piece of egregious and childish vanity, was however in reality an important epoch in the history of Germany. Prince Eugene had sagacity enough to foresee the consequences to which it might lead; and is said to have observed on hearing that Austria had consented to it—"The Emperor ought to hang the ministers who gave him such advice." The present age has witnessed the justness of this prediction, and has beheld Prussia not only taking a first rank among the states of Europe, but even ready to dispute with Austria the headship of the German nation. The vanity of Frederick had at least the effect of inciting his successors to render themselves worthy of their new title. Nor was Frederick himself so deeply sensual and degraded as many of his contemporary princes. He was not altogether unmindful of the future. He caused the Prussian army to be improved by Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau, Eugene's pupil in the art of war. He showed an enlightened tolerance of liberal opinions, which Protestantism had naturally fostered in northern Germany, and favoured the efforts of Professor Thomasius to reform the obsolete pedantry of the universities, as well as the manners and customs of the age.

The frugal habits and prejudiced nationality of his son, Frederick William I., contributed not a little, in spite of his eccentricity, to augment the power and resources of Prussia.

Frederick William I. was twenty-five years old when the death of his father Frederick I. in 1713 placed him on the throne of Prussia. His early education had been entrusted to a lady, Madame de Rocoulles, to whom he seems to have caused frequent anxiety and terror by the daring recklessness of his character. On one occasion, we are told, when the *gouvernante* threatened to chastise him for some childish fault, Frederick ran to an open window, and getting astride on the ledge, swore that he would throw himself into the court below, unless she promised to forgive him. At six years of age he was placed under the tuition of General von Dohna, a man of unblemished character and simple manners, from whom he probably acquired the distaste for unnecessary parade, and the hatred of Frenchmen, which were distinguishing characteristics of his subsequent life. The pedantry of his French tutor, Monsieur Rebeur, appears also to have engendered in his mind a contempt for learned men, which afterwards displayed itself in such practical jokes as dressing up his monkey in academical robes, and placing a professor, who had been carried drunk and helpless from the royal table, in bed between two young bears. At a period when ignorance of the French language and neglect of French fashions were grave offences against the regulations of German society, it was curious to observe the King of Prussia dressed in a plain dark blue uniform with red facings, his head ornamented with a small bob-wig instead of a French perruque, his sword by his side, and a stout cane in his hand, abusing the courtiers for "spitting and spluttering" French in his face. "I am no Frenchman," he used to say, "I don't want to be a Frenchman—German is good enough for me.—As soon as my children are born I will place a sword and pistol in their cradles, that they may learn betimes to drive these intruding foreigners out of Germany."

Almost the first act of his reign was the dismissal of some hundreds of chamberlains, lacqueys, and pages, and the sale of all the objects of taste and luxury, with which the palaces were crowded. So rigid was his economy, that only one bedchamber woman was allowed to the Queen, who was obliged to secure the services of a second attendant when she travelled, by concealing her in the waggon which conveyed the pots and kettles of the royal kitchen. The effect of these reductions was soon visible in the improved state of the exchequer, which enabled Frederick William to found more than four hundred schools, an orphan

house for 2500 soldiers' children, and settlements for the French Protestants who had sought an asylum in Prussia in the days of the Great Elector, besides strengthening the fortresses of Magdeburg, Wesel, Stettin, and Memel, and raising his favourite residence of Potsdam from the rank of a village to that of a well-built country town.

His subjects were expected to be as simple and frugal in their habits as himself, and to contribute, according to their means, towards the improvement of his capital. "That fellow is rich—must build" was generally the form in which he signified his pleasure that some wealthy citizen should employ his superfluous treasure in the embellishment of Berlin. The hours which were not devoted to public business, or the inspection of his troops, were generally passed by Frederick William in strolling about the streets: but he would tolerate no other idlers, and often applied his heavy cane to the backs of fashionable loungers or loitering workmen, whom he would chase from street to street, until the unfortunate wretches half dead with pain and terror fell at his feet and roared for mercy. "Why did you run away from me, rascal?" said he to a miserable Jew who had tried to escape as soon as he saw the well-known blue uniform. "I was afraid, an please your Majesty," replied the trembling culprit. "How dare you be afraid, Sir?" retorted Frederick, raising his cane and applying it vigorously to the man's head and shoulders; "do you not know, dolt, that I am the Father of my people, and that I expect to be loved, and not feared?" Frederick's notions of strict justice, although reasonable enough in themselves, were not always in accordance with the laws of his kingdom, which he was accustomed to set aside with very little scruple, whenever he disliked their provisions. A nobleman had been condemned to close imprisonment in a fortress for some act of gross extortion. "Nonsense," said the King, when the sentence was submitted to him for his approbation, "if a poor starving wretch steals a few miserable dollars, you put him to death; but a fellow like this, who has ruined whole families by his villany, must be spared, because he is noble forsooth—let his lordship be hanged without delay." The wretched criminal, horror-struck at this irregular sentence, pleaded his privilege of nobility, and offered to restore the money which he had taken. "I want not thy rascally dollars," was the stern reply, "a noble thief must be hanged like any other thief:" and within a few

hours the sentence was executed in front of the war-office. Nothing annoyed the King so much as effeminacy, or unwillingness to encounter danger, particularly in members of his family. His son, afterwards Frederick the Great, was subjected to the discipline of the cane for years, because his father thought proper to doubt his courage, and was seldom addressed by any title more endearing than those of "Coward, dolt, coxcomb, puppy, and ass." On one occasion* the King lost all control over his passion, and flying at his son, beat him over the face with his fists until the blood flowed in streams. "Never," said the Prince, "had the face of a Brandenburg been so handled before." The discipline of his household was exceedingly rigid, and any violation of the rules which he had laid down was sure to be visited with his severest displeasure. The Queen, it appears, had sometimes offended by allowing company to remain in her apartments after nine o'clock, the hour which Frederick had fixed for the closing of all private dwellings, as well as houses of public entertainment. One night a man, muffled in a cloak, knocked at the door of the court confessor Reinbeck, and delivered him a note, written in a disguised hand. "It would be well," said this anonymous correspondent, "if the Queen's confessor warned her Majesty to close her apartments at seasonable hours, lest it should come to the ears of the King."—The messenger was Frederick himself.

The great object of Frederick's life, to which all his other plans were in some degree subservient, was the raising and disciplining a military force powerful enough not only to protect Prussia against foreign aggressions, but to obtain for her an influential position among the nations of Europe. His celebrated giant guard was recruited at an enormous expense from other countries, where agents were regularly employed to kidnap the tallest men and send them into Prussia. Peter the Great, who wanted artificers more than grenadiers, agreed to send him all the giants in his dominions, on condition of being permitted to carry off an equal number of Westphalian whitesmiths; but in Holland his agent was arrested and punished with death as a man-stealer. Frugal as Frederick was in his general expenditure, no limits were set to the reckless profusion with which he scattered his money for the gratification of this darling object. A batch of forty-three giants cost him 43,000 dollars; and 9000 were once

* On board a boat at Frankfort, immediately after the discovery of Frederick's meditated escape from his tyranny.

paid for an individual : but he was nearly seven feet high, and stout in proportion. The price seems to have varied according to the value of the article, and the difficulty or facility with which it could be obtained. Sometimes a man might be cajoled by fair promises and a trifling present ; but more frequently it was necessary to purchase him from his master, or perhaps to steal him, in which case the connivance of government functionaries must be purchased by heavy bribes. The average yearly expense of keeping up a brigade of 1500 guardsmen seems to have been 300,000 dollars, more than four times the sum requisite for the support of the same number of men in regiments of the line. A great part of Frederick's time was passed in playing with these gigantic toys. Sometimes the most distinguished among them were required to sit to the king for their portraits ; but if, as often happened, the artist proved unsuccessful, the mistake was remedied, not in the usual manner, by altering the picture, but by painting the man until he bore some resemblance to his representative. The domestic habits of Frederick William were, as we have said, exceedingly simple. His evenings were generally spent in the society of five or six of his ministers and generals, the Austrian ambassador, and any foreign princes who happened to be at his court. At Potsdam a few of the more respectable burghers were generally commanded to join the circle, and even the village schoolmaster was a constant guest. The firmness with which this personage administered the affairs of his miniature kingdom seems first to have recommended him, as a congenial spirit, to the favour of his sovereign. Frederick, in one of his rambles, had entered the school and required the pupils to shout out, "Our master is an ass !" The boys refusing, Frederick told them that he was the king, and could command obedience. "That may be true enough," retorted a saucy urchin, "but our master can command it too, and we are more afraid of him than of you." From that day the schoolmaster was a regular guest at the royal palace. All formality was banished from these convivial meetings. Even when the king entered the room none were permitted to rise from their seats. Frederick himself sat on a three-legged stool and his guests on wooden benches, each with a short Dutch pipe in his mouth and a mug of beer on the table before him. In the middle of the room stood a chafing-dish filled with burning turf, at which they lighted their pipes. Those who could not smoke were required at least to hold

a pipe in their mouths and puff in concert with the rest. The most important affairs of state were often discussed in these assemblies; and strange scenes were sometimes enacted when foreign princes, who had any point to gain, were content to smoke for the first time in their lives pipe after pipe of strong tobacco, in order to gratify the King. So attached was Frederick William to his *tobacco-college*, as he called it, that in his last illness he was often carried into the smoking-room or assembled the members round his bed. The magnificent army which he had spent his days in organising was never called into the field during his life-time, for the sandy wastes of Brandenburg were at that time scarcely deemed a prize worth fighting for; and foreign princes contented themselves with calling the King of Prussia in derision the Arch *sand-strewer* of the holy Roman Empire.

Frederick William died on the 3rd May, 1740, in the fifty-second year of his age, bequeathing to his son the task of following out his plans of military glory, and treasure, partly in specie and partly in vessels of gold and silver, to the amount of eight million seven hundred thousand dollars.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER LIV.

Herrnhuters.—The first colony of these sectaries, called also the Moravian Brethren, was established by Count Zinzendorf, a Saxon nobleman, who granted an asylum to a considerable body of exiles from Austria, during the persecution which raged in that country in the year 1721. On the 17th of June, 1722, Christian David, one of the new settlers, felled the first tree, in order to clear ground for the colony in the midst of a wild tract of forest between Löbau and Zittau in Upper Lusatia, on the road from Dresden to Breslau. In a short time these industrious strangers had erected a neat little village, to which they gave the name of Herrnhut, from the text “Ich will lieber der Thür *hüten* in meines Gottes [or HERRN] Hause, denn lange wohnen in der Gottlosen Hütten.”* The discipline of this community, which now numbers about 1400 souls, closely resembles that of the Quakers, except that music and dancing are permitted to their younger members. They hold that man is so utterly

* “I had rather be a doorKEEPER in the house of my God [LORD] than to dwell in the tents of ungodliness.”—Psalm lxxiv. 10.

corrupt by nature, that he cannot help himself, but must rely wholly on Divine grace, which is so inexhaustible, that in the end even the devil will be converted; and that our whole duty consists in blind obedience to the will of God, as indicated by the casting of lots. The society is governed by elders chosen in this manner, and sends out from time to time missionaries to heathen countries. Some of their notions are exceedingly wild and visionary.

CHAPTER LV.

THE PRAGMATIC SANCTION.—DEATH OF CHARLES VI.

From A.D. 1714 to 1740.

THE Empire had not long enjoyed the blessings, such as they were, of a peace with France, when her armies were again called into the field to oppose the Turks, who, happily for Germany, had allowed her to remain unmolested during the whole of the late war. Eugene again took the command, and compelled the invaders, after losing their Grand Vizier and the flower of their army in the bloody engagements of Peterwardein and Belgrade, to sue for peace; which was granted them on condition of their ceding Belgrade and a portion of Wallachia and Servia to the Austrians. As a protection against future invasions, military colonies were planted by Eugene along the whole line of the Turkish frontier. The anxious desire of Charles VI., whose only son had died in infancy, was to secure the succession to his daughter Maria Theresa, wife of Francis Duke of Lorraine: an object which he endeavoured to accomplish by means of a *Pragmatic Sanction*, that is to say, a guarantee of the succession to his daughter, not only by the imperial diet, but by the principal sovereigns of Europe, most of whom were induced by his promises to acquiesce, for the present at least, in this notable arrangement.

In 1734 France, Spain, and Sardinia suddenly declared war against the Emperor, on the ground of his having supported the claims of Augustus III. of Saxony to the throne of Poland, in opposition to those of Leczinsky, the favourite of the French party. Russia sent 30,000 men to the assistance of Charles, but peace had been concluded before they reached the frontier. Towards the end of 1736 the brave veteran, Prince Eugene, died

at the age of seventy-three, lamenting almost with his last breath the degraded condition of Germany. The noble army which it had been his pride to collect and discipline was now intrusted to unprincipled favourites, who knew little of war, and seemed incapable of uniting in opinion on any subject, except the expediency of enriching themselves at the public expense, and by the plunder of their half-starved soldiery. Instead of 120,000 men, therefore, the force actually levied amounted scarcely to 40,000; the funds necessary for the equipment of the rest having been shared among the ministers of war and field-marschals, who played into each other's hands with the most unblushing dishonesty. The consequences of all these abuses were an ill-advised campaign against the Turks, and a disgraceful treaty of peace, by which Servia and Wallachia were restored to their former masters (A.D. 1739). The following year the Emperor Charles VI. died. During his long reign he had contributed even more than his father to impress on the character of the Austrians that peculiar stamp which is not yet wholly effaced. In the olden time they had manifested a taste for military glory, had been turbulent asserters of their own rights, and ferocious assailants of those who presumed to differ from them on religious questions: but these stormy propensities had long since settled down into an easy, joyous tranquillity of character, which was content to snatch the amusements of the passing hour, leaving the cares of state to their Emperor, and the extermination of heresy, as well as the superintendence of their own spiritual concerns, to the Jesuits.

1
SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER LV.

Character of the German Courts in the Eighteenth Century.—The ceremonial of the imperial court, which was conducted according to the strictest pattern of Spanish etiquette, was not, it is true, calculated to inspire very lively emotions; but the unlimited expenditure of the imperial establishment, to which no fewer than 40,000 persons were in some form or other attached, helped to consume the public revenue, whilst the profligacy of courtiers, hangers-on, and lacqueys imparted its tone to the society of all ranks. Eating and drinking were considered the main business of life, and pleasures still more questionable were eagerly pursued both by the nobles and citizens. At court, marshals and chamberlains, and counsellors, and equerries, with the foreign

ambassadors (of whom every count, prelate, and free city claimed the privilege of sending one), formed a society of many hundreds, who were entertained with solemn feasts, processions, and fire-works. Half Vienna was fed from the court kitchen and the court cellar. The bread for the Empress's parrots was steeped in Tokay wine, of which two hogsheads were expended daily. Twelve gallons of the finest wine were also allowed for her possets and twelve barrels for her baths. In Saxony the court was equally profligate and infinitely less dignified. Augustus the Strong died in 1733, leaving 352 children, among whom was the renowned Maurice, ex-Duke of Courland, who afterwards, under the name of Marshal Saxe, led the French armies to victory. The reign of this vulgar-minded and licentious tyrant had been one long scene of coarse debauchery and the most wanton expenditure. The entertainments of the court were a display of tasteless profusion. On one occasion, at a feast given in honour of a favourite mistress, Neptune appeared on the Elbe, attended by frigates, Venetian gondolas, and gun-boats, the crews of which were dressed in satin jackets and silk stockings: Turkish janisseries, Moors, and Swiss halberdiers guarded the banks; and a blazing pile of wood threw its light on an allegorical picture which covered 6000 yards of canvas. A gipsy party at Mühlberg cost three millions of dollars, of which five thousand were expended in the purchase of porcelain vessels for the bed-chambers of the Elector and his guests, Frederick William I. and the Crown Prince of Prussia. The private treasury or green vault was crowded with precious stones and gold, wrought into grotesque figures, columns of ostrich eggs, musical clocks, and hundreds of other toys, collected at a vast expense. Carpets of feathers covered the floors of the Japan palace; and one room was entirely filled with ostrich and heron plumes which were used at the court festivals. The only portion of this gigantic toy-shop that reflected any credit on its founder was the gallery of pictures. His son and successor, Augustus III., if less lavish in his personal expenditure, was too weak and indolent to restrain the extravagance of an unworthy favourite, Count Brühl, whose wardrobe displayed hundreds of rich dresses, any one of which might have been worn by the wealthiest monarch in Europe, a curious collection of embroidered shoes, and wigs of Parisian manufacture arranged in chronological order in a splendid cabinet.

In Bavaria Maximilian II., the miserable puppet of Marshal

Villars and his French mistresses, was succeeded in 1726 by his son Charles Albert, who died in 1746, leaving behind him a reputation scarcely more respectable than that of his father. Keyszler, who travelled in Bavaria in 1729, gives an amusing description of this court. "The Electress Maria Amelia (a small and delicate lady) is an excellent shot at the target as well as in the field, and often follows the chase up to her knees in mud. She wears a man's habit of green cloth with a small white perruque. She is a great fancier of dogs, which stand round her table ready to empty the dishes as fast as they are set down. Near her bed one of them sleeps on a cushion in a sort of tent. In the adjoining room are twelve more dogs, and one at least always kennels in the bed-room of his highness." The traveller also speaks of other favourites on whom the "small and delicate lady," maddened by jealousy, sometimes inflicted corporal chastisement with her own hands. Similar scenes were enacted in Baden, where the Elector Charles William had lately built the beautiful city of Carlsruhe (*Charles's rest*) in the midst of a forest.

The history of the northern states presents the same disgusting picture, varied only in the case of Hanover, by the transfer of arbitrary power from the Elector to the nobles, consequent on the removal to England of George I. with all his mistresses in the year 1714. Nowhere was court etiquette so strictly observed as at Hanover after it had lost its prince. The courtiers assembled every Sunday in an apartment of the palace, where a portrait of the king was set upon an arm-chair, and, as if they had been in the real presence, did not venture to speak above a whisper. After an hour spent in this manner they adjourned to the dining-room, where a good dinner, and still better wines, were provided. Lastly, the ecclesiastical princes, on whom the rough discipline of the Reformation ought to have impressed some regard at least for public opinion, were for the most part as profligate and debauched as the worst of the laity. The Council of Trent had, it is true, enacted stringent laws for the suppression of clerical luxury and immorality; but now that the northern courts themselves set the example of vicious indulgence, and the wholesome restraint was withdrawn which the dread of their more rigid neighbours had at first imposed on the Romanists; the higher orders of the priesthood (most of whom were younger sons of noble families) practised without scruple the lessons which they

had learnt at the courts of their fathers or relatives. Duclos, in his *Memoirs*, relates a curious instance of the total disregard of decency manifested by the Archbishop of Cologne. During his sojourn at Versailles this prelate gave notice that he intended to preach in the court chapel on the 1st of April. A large congregation being assembled, the preacher ascended the pulpit and bowed gravely to the audience, then shouting "April fools all!" he ran down the stairs amidst the laughter of the court, and the clang of horns, trumpets, and kettle-drums.

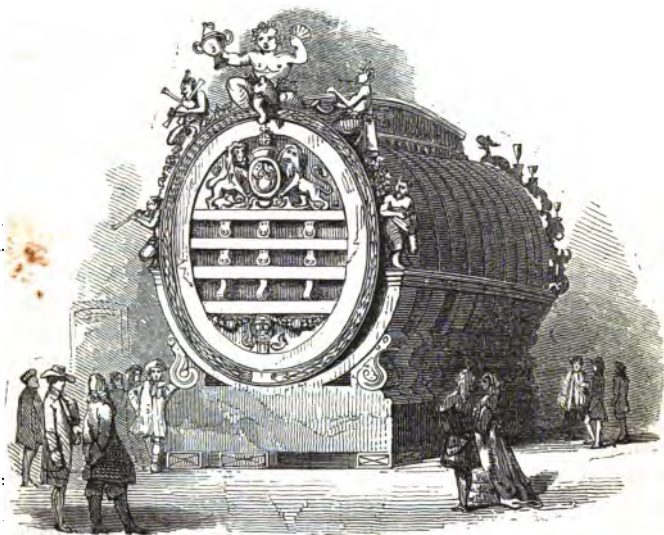
Persecution in the Mountains of Salzburg.—Whilst the Romanist and Protestant princes thus disgraced their religious profession, a few unknown and simple peasants were studying Luther's translation of the Bible in an obscure valley among the mountains of Salzburg, without formally separating from the communion of the Romish church, or puzzling themselves with the endless controversies which agitated the Protestant and Reformed communities. For a long time their conformity to the discipline of the church, and the care with which they concealed their religious meetings, baffled the jealous scrutiny of the priests; but at length a curious accident brought all to light. It was observed that at convivial meetings certain individuals, when addressed in the words of the Catholic greeting, "Praised be Jesus Christ!" instead of repeating the salutation, turned away in silent disgust. This singular behaviour was sure to provoke remark among the inhabitants of a secluded village. The recusants were summoned before the local authorities, and, being strictly questioned, confessed that they could not endure to hear the Saviour's name uttered amidst scenes of revelry and drunkenness. Instantly the cry of heresy was raised, and a formal complaint laid before the Archbishop, who commanded that all persons refusing to repeat the Catholic watchword should be subjected to the discipline of the cudgel until their prejudices were overcome. But the peasants were stout-hearted, and bore manfully all the tortures inflicted on them. A commission of inquiry was then issued, and the recusants were questioned as to their belief. Were they Lutherans or Zwinglians? The honest peasants replied that they understood little of those matters: their wish and endeavour was to be "evangelical." Their number had now increased to twenty thousand; and a confederacy was formed, the members of which swore to be faithful to the Gospel "even unto death." Each person then dipped his forefinger into a vessel full of salt, whence, or in

allusion to the text, "Ye are the salt of the earth," or to the name of their country, the confederacy was called the "Salt-League." They might have made head against their enemies had not the Archbishop devised the cruel expedient of proscribing them, not as heretics, but as disturbers of the public peace, who, being neither Lutherans nor Calvinists, had no right to the aid of Protestant princes. In the simplicity of their honest hearts they threw themselves on the protection of the Emperor, and sent twenty-one delegates to remind him of his duty, as sworn guardian of the German nation. Six thousand soldiers brought them his reply, and for a whole month hunted down the peasants like wild beasts. At length the Archbishop, wearied out by their obstinacy, commanded that all who refused to take the test should be banished from their country—a sentence which was immediately executed with great rigour. Men who were at work in the fields were seized and hurried across the frontier without being allowed even to provide themselves with a change of clothing; and all their little property was confiscated by the Archbishop's commissary, who granted at his own discretion a trifling sum to defray the expenses of their journey. But the most atrocious act of cruelty was the forcible separation of more than a thousand parents from their children. In vain did the unhappy mother pray that she might be left behind with her little ones, though it were to suffer nakedness and cold and hunger. "It is the Emperor's will," was the only reply vouchsafed to them; and the broken-hearted creatures, urged on by blows and terrified by the shouts of their Romanist neighbours, went forth alone to die in a foreign land. A few of the boys afterwards escaped from the custody of the Jesuits, and begged their way through Germany until they joined their parents on the shores of the Baltic. The banished men were soon followed by crowds of voluntary emigrants, most of whom settled in Prussia and Holland, whilst a few crossed the Atlantic and joined their brethren in America.

CHAPTER LVI.

CHARLES VII.—FRANCIS I.—PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

From A.D. 1740 to 1748.



Great Tun of Heidelberg, constructed in 1751.


THE accession of Maria Theresa was opposed by a formidable league, consisting of the Elector of Bavaria (who claimed the dominions of Habsburg, in right of his descent from the eldest daughter of Ferdinand I.), the King of France, and the King of Prussia, Frederick II. Since the days of the Great Elector of Brandenburg, Prussia had been rapidly rising into importance, and possessed at this time a well-disciplined army of 72,000 men, which the young king was eager to bring into the field without delay. Availing himself, therefore, of some antiquated claims on certain duchies in Silesia, he suddenly invaded that country in December, 1740, and in the spring of the following year overthrew the Austrians in a bloody engagement near Molwitz. This victory, however, was due to the experienced talent of Marshal Schwerin, and not to Frederick himself. This success emboldened other powers to resist the claims of Maria Theresa, and in a short

time the names of Saxony, Spain, and Poland were added to the list of confederates. A French army then crossed the Rhine, under the command of Marshal Belleisle, overran a great part of Austria and Bohemia, and took the city of Prague, where Albert of Bavaria (whom Louis XV. had nominated lieutenant-general of his forces) halted to receive the homage of the Bohemians. Meanwhile the Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, abandoned by all her allies except the King of England, and surrounded by enemies, was compelled to purchase the forbearance of the most formidable among them by the cession of Silesia, Frederick merely stipulating that the treaty should be kept secret for three months, lest his allies should suspect him of treachery to the cause. In the autumn of the same year Maria Theresa called together the estates of Hungary. Since the annexation of their country to Austria the Hungarian nobles had rather submitted to the right of the strong hand, than acquiesced cordially in an arrangement which took from them the privilege of electing their own king. It was with feelings, therefore, of doubt and uneasiness that the queen appeared before them to demand their co-operation in the measures which she intended to adopt for the defence of her crown; but the sight of their beautiful sovereign, who entered the hall of the diet in the Hungarian costume, bearing her infant son in her arms, and called on them by their oath of knighthood to succour a persecuted woman, at once melted the hearts of the chivalrous magnates, who, rising with one accord, drew their swords and declared themselves ready to shed their blood in defence of their "king" Maria Theresa.* In an incredibly short space of time a formidable army was assembled, consisting of Pandours, Croatians, and other wild hordes, whose very names were unknown in civilized Europe. Within a week the whole of Upper Austria was free; and the victorious barbarians marching into Bavaria made themselves masters of Munich on the day that Charles Albert, who had been elected Emperor of Germany, received the imperial crown at Frankfort. In the mean time Frederick of Prussia, so far from respecting the terms of his secret treaty, had renewed the war in Silesia, where he defeated the Austrian troops in 1742, and soon afterwards granted peace to the Queen of Hungary on condition of receiving the whole of Upper as well as Lower Silesia. At the same time the Elector of Saxony was gained over to the queen's cause by the

* *Moriamur pro Rege nostro, Maria Theresa.*

grant of large estates in Bohemia to his favourite, Count Brühl. In the following year the French were defeated near Dettingen by George II. of England and the Duke of Cumberland; and the Duke of Lorraine, crossing the Rhine, ravaged the French province of Alsace. At Dettingen, George II.'s horse took fright at the cannonading, and ran away with him towards the enemy's lines, but was fortunately stopped by one of his attendants. The king now dismounted and fought on foot at the head of his Hanoverians with his sword drawn, and in the attitude of a fencing-master about to make a lunge. A second Silesian war between the Prussians and Austrians was terminated in December, 1744, by the peace of Dresden; and early in the next year Charles VII. died and was succeeded on the imperial throne by the queen's husband, Francis I.

The war continued some time longer in Flanders and Holland, where Marshal Saxe defeated the Duke of Cumberland at Fontenoy, and took the strong fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom, which was bravely defended by the Dutch and two battalions of Scotch soldiers in the pay of Holland. At length a general peace was concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle October 7th, 1748, all the contracting powers becoming guarantees to the King of Prussia for the Duchy of Silesia, and the county of Glatz, and insuring to Maria Theresa the undisturbed possession of her hereditary dominions according to the terms of the Pragmatic Sanction.



CHAPTER LVII.

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.—PEACE OF PARIS AND HUBERTSBURG.

From A.D. 1756 to 1763.



Frederick the Great and his Generals.

THE eight years which intervened between the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle and the breaking out of the Seven Years' War resembled a season of truce, during which men's minds are agitated by the restless anticipation of future hostilities, rather than a period of settled tranquillity. The loss of her Silesian dominions still rankled in the breast of Maria Theresa, who shed tears whenever she compared her own forlorn condition with the rising greatness of Frederick, and wearied her able minister Kaunitz with entreaties that he would devise some mode of removing this stain from the honour of Austria. In Russia the unprincipled chancellor of the Empress Elizabeth persuaded his mistress to form an alliance with the Austrians because the King of Prussia had ridiculed his vulgar profusion and rapacity—an example which was followed

by the Elector of Saxony at the instigation of his favourite Count Brühl, who had also felt the lash of Frederick's satirical wit. England was at this time engaged in a fierce conflict with France for the possession of her North American colonies, and looked for assistance to Prussia. On the other hand the Prussian ambassador at Paris was strongly urged to advise the invasion of Hanover, a suggestion which would probably have been adopted by Frederick, had he not feared the danger of embroiling himself with England whilst Russia was making hostile demonstrations on his frontier. Instead therefore of following the advice of his minister, Frederick judged it more prudent to conclude a treaty of alliance with England, which was signed at Westminster in the month of January, 1756.

In the first alarm occasioned by the intelligence of this unexpected conjunction, Maria Theresa, by the advice of Kaunitz, condescended to write with her own hand a flattering letter to Madame de Pompadour, the mistress of Louis XV., calling her "her dear cousin," and imploring her to obtain the King's consent to a treaty of alliance between France and Austria. The result of this overture was a convention between the two powers, which was signed at Versailles on the 1st of May, 1756. By the terms of this agreement the spoils of Prussia were to be divided between the two continental powers and the Empress of Russia, who subsequently became a party to the treaty. Frederick called this compact, in derision, "*L'Alliance des trois cotillons.*" The negotiations of the French, Russian, and Austrian ministers with the governments of Sweden and Saxony being regularly reported at Berlin by a secretary of the Saxon government, who had been bribed to act as a spy, Frederick thought it best to anticipate their designs; and, having made his preparations with such secrecy that no suspicion was entertained of his intention, suddenly appeared in Saxony at the head of 70,000 men, and demanded permission to pass through that country on his way to Bohemia. Finding that he could obtain nothing from Count Brühl beyond the promise of remaining neutral, Frederick blockaded the little army of Saxony between Pirna on the Elbe and the fortress of Königstein. An Austrian force under General Brown, which had been dispatched in haste to their assistance, was totally defeated by the Prussians near the town of Lowositz. The Saxons then surrendered at discretion, and were drafted into the Prussian army, the officers being liberated on their parole of

honour. In the following spring (1767) preparations were made by the allies for resuming the war on a more extensive scale. Austria and France contributed each 150,000 men, Russia 100,000, Sweden 20,000, and the German Empire generally 60,000. At the same time the ban of the Empire was pronounced against Frederick by the diet at Ratisbon; but by an unfortunate clerical error* the diet pledged itself, instead of "speedy aid," to render "miserable aid" to the allies—an expression only too prophetic of their subsequent disasters. Frederick opened the campaign by again invading Bohemia; and attacking the allies, who were intrenched in a strong position near Prague, under the command of Prince Charles of Lorraine, brother-in-law of the Empress-Queen. With his usual impetuosity the king urged his troops through a green morass, which he had mistaken for meadow ground. Marshal Schwerin implored him to delay the attack until the following morning; but the contemptuous retort of his master so piqued the old man, that, leaping from his horse and seizing a standard, he rushed wildly forward, and fell pierced with four balls. After a protracted and bloody struggle the Austrians fled in all directions, leaving their general, Brown, among the dead. Some of the fugitives took refuge in the city of Prague, whilst others joined the army of Marshal Daun, who was stationed in the neighbourhood. On the 18th of June another battle was fought near Kollin, in which the Prussians were utterly routed, losing 14,000 men, with all their artillery and baggage. On the evening of this terrible day Frederick was found by his officers seated on a hollow tree, which served as a water-course, and tracing figures with his stick on the sand. The sound of their voices roused him from this melancholy reverie; but his eyes filled with tears when they told him that of the magnificent brigade of grenadier-guards not a man had escaped. "It has been a day of sorrow for us, my children," said the King; "but patience, and all will yet be well." A few weeks after this disaster Frederick received the mortifying intelligence that his ally the Duke of Cumberland had been disgracefully defeated by the French near Hastenbek on the Weser, and had signed a convention at Kloster-Seven, by which he engaged to disband his troops and give up Hanover, Brunswick, and the whole of the country between the Weser and

* By the omission of one letter the word appeared as "elende" instead of "eilende."

Rhine. This convention the King of England, acting under the advice of his prime minister Pitt, peremptorily refused to ratify. On the 5th of November Frederick again took the field and attacked the united army of the Imperialists and French, who were encamped near the village of Rossbach, not far from Leipzig. The enemy, who were three times as numerous as the Prussians, were so assured of victory that they had filled their camp with women and French friseurs; but the first charge of the Prussian cavalry threw them into confusion, and the whole army, with the exception of a few Swiss mercenaries, fled without firing a shot. There seems to have been little sympathy between the Imperialists and their allies. A Prussian soldier was conveying a French prisoner to the rear, when he was attacked by an Austrian. "Brother German," said the captor, "leave me the Frenchman." "Take him," growled the Imperialist, loosening his hold of the prisoner, whom he had probably at first sight mistaken for a countryman: "take him and keep him, if you can." So ridiculous was the whole affair (for the Prussians only lost 160 men) that Frederick, in his glee, proposed as a conundrum to his officers, "What German prince has the largest retinue?" Answer: "The Prince of Hilburghausen (commander of the defeated army), for he has 50,000 *runners*." "It is all very well," said Louis XV., when intelligence was brought to him of this disgraceful flight; "that fellow, Frederick, knows how to gain a battle, but let me see him make a *pâté de foie gras*!" Seidlitz, who had led the charge which dispersed the Imperialists, was considered the best cavalry officer of his time. We are told that he once rode between the revolving sails of a windmill; and on another occasion, when asked by Frederick what he would do if the enemy were before and behind him on the bridge of Frankfurt on the Oder, leaped his horse into the river and swam to shore. Exactly a month after the battle of Rossbach, Frederick, with only 30,000 men, gained a complete victory over 80,000 Imperialists near Leuthen, and soon afterwards captured Breslau. He now proposed terms of peace, which were rejected by Maria Theresa, and the war began afresh. The Prussian army, augmented by large reinforcements from England, was placed under the command of the Duke of Brunswick, a general appointed by Frederick himself. In the spring of 1758 Frederick entered Moravia and besieged Ollmütz, but without success; and the news that the Russians, under Fermor, had crossed the Oder, and

were carrying devastation to the very gates of Berlin, obliged him to retire. He came up with the Russians at Zorndorf, and totally defeated them, though their force was twice as large as his; but the victory cost him 11,000 men, for the Russians stood like walls. Frederick presented some Cossacks he had taken to one of his friends, exclaiming, "See here, Sir; I am obliged to go about fighting with rabble like this." In the following October, however, Frederick sustained a severe defeat at Hochkirch in Lusatia from the Austrians under Daun and Laudon, who surprised his camp in the night. The Prussian soldiers were awakened by the sound of their own cannon, which the enemy had seized and turned against them. Frederick lost on this occasion many of his bravest officers, 9000 men, and 100 guns. He was destined to suffer still more serious reverses in the following year. Towards the west, indeed, the Duke of Brunswick kept the French in check by his victory at Minden; but on the opposite side of his dominions Frederick was threatened by the united armies of the Russians and Austrians, who had learnt by experience that the Prussian monarch gained his advantages by encountering them singly. On the 12th of August, 1759, Frederick offered them battle at Kunnersdorf, near Frankfort on the Oder, but sustained one of the most serious defeats he had ever suffered. Shortly afterwards a division of his army 10,000 strong, under General Fink, was forced to surrender in a body. His next loss was Dresden, which fell into the hands of the Austrians: but on the 9th of October Berlin itself surrendered to the Russians and Austrians, under Generals Tottleben and Lacy. The Russian general prevented the town from being plundered, but the Saxons destroyed the palace of Charlottenburg, with its splendid collection of antiquities, out of revenge for Frederick's having devastated Count Brühl's palaces at Dresden. Frederick's ill fortune pursued him the following year, till his victory at Torgau, 3rd November, 1760, put the Prussian monarchy out of danger. On the evening before the battle he called his generals together, and pointing out to them the necessity for finishing the war, told them that if they were beaten they must all perish, and expressed his own determination to die on the field. It was one of the bloodiest battles he ever fought. The enemy's cannonade from 400 pieces was so terrific that Frederick, the hero of so many battles, could not help frequently exclaiming to his aides-de-camp, "What a fearful cannonade! Did you ever hear the

like?" When the shades of night fell upon the combatants the engagement seemed still undecided. Frederick, who had been wounded, passed the night in the greatest anxiety, which was, however, relieved towards morning by the appearance of General Ziethen, who came with the news that he had pursued the combat in the night, and that the Austrians were in full retreat. Frederick was accustomed to ridicule the old hussar general, who before battle used always to cut a cross in the air with his sabre, by way of recommending himself to the Almighty; but now he clasped him in his arms with the deepest emotion. Frederick's resources were, however, very much diminished by the refusal of George III. of England to continue the subsidy which had been paid to Prussia by his predecessor: nor were the funds of his enemies in a much better condition. In the year 1762 the Empress Elizabeth died, and her successor, Peter III., immediately formed an alliance with Frederick, an example which was soon followed by Sweden. All Europe seemed now desirous of repose. France and Spain, humbled by their losses in the West Indies and on the high seas, were anxious to put an end to a war which had brought them nothing but defeat and disgrace. A general peace was therefore concluded at Paris on the 10th of February, 1763; and soon afterwards Maria Theresa, abandoned by her allies, was compelled to sign a convention, by which possession of Silesia was again secured to Frederick. This treaty, which was signed at Hubertsburg in Saxony on the 15th of February, placed Prussia and Austria in precisely the same position which they had occupied before the war.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER LVII.

Frederick II., surnamed the Great, born 1712, died 1786.—The same Madame de Rocoulles, who had been his own nursery governess, was selected by Frederick William to superintend the early education of his son, under the direction of the Queen, Dorothea Sophia, a sister of George II. In his fifth year he was appointed to the command of a company of little boys, and practised military tactics so successfully, that at twelve years old he was able to manœuvre them in a style of which the oldest general in his father's army need hardly have been ashamed. A miniature arsenal was also fitted up for practice in the art of gunnery, under the superintendence of his governor, Count

Finkenstein, whose son was Frederick's favourite companion during his boyhood, and afterwards his prime minister. Du Hon, a French officer of considerable reputation both as a scholar and a military man, was appointed to assist the prince in his studies, with an express stipulation that no attempt should be made to teach him either Latin or Greek. Under this instructor Frederick acquired a competent knowledge of general history and science, with a taste for French literature, which he retained to the latest moment of his life. His leisure hours were occupied in learning to play on the flute and in drawing. Religious instruction seems to have been either entirely omitted, or administered so injudiciously as to create in the mind of Frederick a contempt for sacred things, which rendered him an apt disciple of the infidel French school founded in the eighteenth century by Voltaire and other self-styled philosophers at Paris. In the year 1728 Frederick, in company with his father, visited Frederick Augustus the Strong at Dresden. Here a new world presented itself to the eyes of the young prince, who entered with eagerness on the enjoyment of pleasures scarcely known by name at the austere court of his father. The chosen companion of his revels, a young man of lax morals and infidel profession, named Katte, seems at this time to have exercised a most unfortunate influence over the mind of Frederick, whose effeminate habits were rendering him more and more an object of dislike to the King, and preparing the way for an explosion, of which Katte himself was the victim. A less exceptionable acquaintance was the celebrated flute-player Quanz, whom he privately invited to Berlin, and treated with great familiarity. Frederick's greatest delight on returning from parade was to throw off his military coat and supply its place with a richly embroidered robe de chambre—then he would amuse himself for hours together with his books, or play duets on the flute with Quanz, whilst Katte watched the door. One evening, whilst they were thus engaged, Katte suddenly announced the approach of the King;—the music books were instantly laid aside, Quanz and his flute thrust into the chimney, and the robe de chambre exchanged for a uniform coat, in which the prince was expected to appear at all seasons. Unfortunately he had forgotten to remove the silk cap which he generally wore in his hours of recreation. The sight of this unmilitary head-gear so annoyed the King, that he rated Frederick severely for his disobedience of orders, kicked Katte down

stairs, and sent all his son's books back to the bookseller from whom they had been purchased. After a time the severity of his father became so insupportable that Frederick resolved to take the earliest opportunity of escaping to England, where he intended to marry his cousin, and wait until some favourable change of circumstances enabled him to return to his own country. This project was discovered by the Elector, who succeeded in persuading Frederick not to make the attempt until he had crossed the Saxon frontier. It was in the beginning of the year 1730 that Frederick William and his son quitted Dresden for the purpose of making a tour through the southern countries of Germany. Between Heilbronn and Heidelberg the party halted for the night in a barn. As this seemed a favourable opportunity for the execution of his plan, Frederick despatched one of the court pages named Keith to secure horses, and soon afterwards effected his own escape from the royal quarters: but his proceedings had been closely watched, and before daybreak the fugitives were overtaken and brought back. The King was roused from sleep and informed of his son's disappearance and capture; but as Frederick solemnly declared that he had only ridden out for the purpose of gratifying his curiosity, and no actual proof appeared of an intention to elope, little notice was taken of his offence. Frederick now wrote to his friend Katte, who was in garrison at Berlin, informing him of his determination to escape from his father's tyranny at all hazards, as soon as a tolerable opportunity presented itself. Meanwhile Katte and Keith were to hold themselves in readiness to desert and join him in England. A second letter fixed the day of his flight. Unfortunately in his haste Frederick omitted the direction of this letter, which was simply addressed "To Lieutenant Katte, by way of Nürnberg," and fell into the hands of another officer of the same name, who instantly forwarded it to the King. Frederick was at Frankfort, and on the point of going on board a small vessel which was to convey them down the Rhine, when this unlucky epistle was put into his hands. Almost speechless with rage he rushed on board the vessel, collared his son, and would probably have murdered him had not his officers interfered, and at last prevailed on him to continue his voyage in another boat, whilst Frederick was conveyed as a state prisoner to the fortress of Wesel. Keith, who had just been appointed to a lieutenancy in a regiment quartered there, received a note in

pencil, with the words "Save yourself: all is discovered," and contrived to escape a few minutes before the arrival of the prince and his guards. From Wesel he was removed to Mittenwald, and subsequently to Küstrin. The King returned by another road to Berlin, and ordered immediate preparations to be made for the trial of all who had aided Frederick in his attempt. Keith, who had escaped, was condemned to be hanged in effigy. The unfortunate Katte was dragged into the presence of his master, who instantly knocked him down, and danced like a madman on his body as he lay on the floor. A court-martial was then held, which condemned him to several years' detention with hard labour in a fortress—but this judgment by no means satisfied the King, who at once annulled the decision of the court, and commanded him to be beheaded. The announcement of this sentence, so disproportionate as it seemed to the offence, filled Berlin with consternation. The father and grandfather of the culprit, both officers of the highest rank, threw themselves at the King's feet and prayed for mercy. But Frederick William was inexorable, and even added to the severity of the sentence, by commanding that it should be executed in front of his son's apartments. On the 6th of November, 1730, the wretched Katte was conducted to the scaffold. As the procession passed the windows of Frederick's prison at Küstrin, the condemned man looked up, and made a farewell sign. "Dearest, dearest Katte," said the unhappy prince in a voice of agony, "forgive me!" "Death is sweet for such a Prince," replied the prisoner, in a firm voice. Frederick then retired from the window, and fell into a fainting fit, which continued so long that apprehensions were entertained for his life. The prison of Frederick was a room in the house of the President von Münchow, to which none had access but his guards and personal attendants. All instruments which could be used for the purpose of self-destruction were withheld from him so carefully, that he was obliged even to eat his dinner with a wooden spoon, the meat having been previously cut into small morsels by a servant. The furniture of his apartment consisted of a bed and two wooden chairs. The only books allowed him were a Bible and hymn-book. In this dreary solitude he was often visited by the son of his host, a child of seven years old, who generally brought his little pinafore filled with such delicacies as the guards would permit him to carry into the prisoner's apartment. The kind-hearted president

himself contrived also to converse with him through a hole bored for that purpose in the ceiling of Frederick's room and the floor of his own bedchamber, which was immediately above it. Meanwhile a court-martial had been assembled by command of the King, to try "Lieutenant-Colonel Fritz" for desertion. After a short deliberation the members almost unanimously pronounced him guilty, declaring at the same time that although as a military court they were obliged to pass sentence of death on "Colonel Fritz," they had no power over the person of the Crown Prince. Frederick William laughed this subtle distinction to scorn, and proceeded to give orders for the execution of his son. The whole court was panic-struck at this display of unnatural cruelty, and all the foreign ambassadors joined his favourite generals in imploring the father not to dye his hands in the blood of his own child. Still the King persisted in his resolution, when one of the oldest of his officers, General von Buddenbrock, tearing open his vest, exclaimed, "If your Majesty wants blood, take mine: but his you shall not have, as long as I have life and strength to protest against it." Whether the devoted courage of this veteran really shook the King's resolution, or whether (as we may hope for the honour of human nature) he wanted an excuse for remitting a sentence which he had never really intended to carry into effect, at least it is certain that soon after this interview with Buddenbrock, Frederick William announced his intention of sparing his son's life. This act of clemency was acknowledged with gratitude by the young man, whose stubborn disposition had already begun to yield to the gentle influence of Münchow, and the pious exhortations of a pastor named Müller, who had attended the unfortunate Katte in his last moments, and been the bearer of an affectionate request, that the Prince "would, as he had done, acknowledge the righteous judgment of God, submit himself to the authority of his father, and hold those for his best friends who told him the truth." This voice from the grave seems to have made a deep impression on Frederick, whose change of disposition was so favourably reported by Müller to the King, that in a short time an order arrived for his liberation, subject only to the condition of his still residing within the walls of the town. At the same time his sword and orders were restored to him, and a suitable house prepared for his reception. In August, 1731, the King visited his son, expressed himself satisfied with his conduct, and embraced him affectionately in presence of his suite.

In the following November permission was granted him to be present at the marriage of his favourite sister Wilhelmina to the Margrave Frederick of Baireuth. The ceremony had already commenced, when Frederick, dressed in a plain grey frock, without any order or decoration, was discovered among the servants, and dragged forward by his father, who presented him to the Queen with these words, "See, Madam, our Fritz is returned." The following day he was restored to his military rank, and returned to Küstrin, where he continued to reside for some months, employing himself diligently in the office of war and royal demesnes. In 1732 he married the Princess Elizabeth of Brunswick-Bevern: but this alliance, which was chosen for him by the King, was productive of very little happiness. From this period until the death of his father, Frederick continued to reside in the castle of Rheinsberg, near Ruppín, enjoying the society of his friends, and studying with infinite relish the writings of Voltaire and French translations of the classics. It was here that he instituted in sport a new order of chivalry named the Order of Bayard, whose famous motto, "*Sans peur et sans reproche*," was borne on the collars of the knights. In the spring of 1740, Frederick was summoned to attend the deathbed of his father, who offered up with his last breath a thanksgiving to God for having granted him so worthy a son and successor.

Frederick now entered in earnest on the functions of government, to which his employment in the war-office at Küstrin had been an excellent introduction. "Our frolics are at an end," said he to the jovial companions of his revels at Rheinsberg; "henceforth let us study how best we may fulfil the grave duties of a sovereign." The beginning of his reign was exceedingly popular. Many burdensome imposts were removed, the examination of prisoners by torture forbidden, and a considerable saving effected in the department of war by the reduction of the giant brigade to a single battalion. During the eight years that intervened between the conclusion of peace at Aix-la-Chapelle and the commencement of the Seven Years' War, Frederick led a very retired life at Sans Souci, a country palace near Berlin. Except the ministers and generals, all the society at his court was French. An academy of sciences was instituted, consisting almost entirely of Frenchmen, of which Maupertuis was the president. His favourite Voltaire visited him in 1745 and

again in 1750; but during the last visit the two philosophers quarrelled, and Voltaire quitted Prussia in disgust, carrying with him some valuable papers, which he was compelled to restore, before the emissaries of Frederick, who overtook the fugitive at Frankfort, would permit him to continue his journey. The behaviour of this vain and arrogant foreigner seems to have been so intolerably insolent during his residence at Sans Souci, that even the placid Germans sometimes lost all patience, and chastised him as he deserved. One day at dinner he so far forgot himself as to call the page in waiting a Pomeranian beast. The youth, who durst not retort in the royal presence, treasured up the remembrance of this insult, and many months after, during a progress through Pomerania, exhibited Voltaire to the country people as the king's monkey; a trick which was rendered easy enough by the personal appearance of the little withered anatomy himself, who sat in his carriage jabbering an unknown tongue and grinning at the crowd; whilst a few of the more officious among the by-standers were trying, as they supposed, to prevent his escape by mounting guard at each door. The habits of Frederick II. were exceedingly active. In summer he rose at three, and in winter at four o'clock. Whilst his valet was dressing his hair he generally employed himself in reading the state papers which had been sent in the day before; and afterwards received the reports of the adjutant-general and officer of the guard. Then he drank a glass of water and some coffee, and occupied himself with reading letters and playing on the flute until nine, when the cabinet ministers were introduced to receive his commands for the day. Frederick, however, did every thing himself. None of his ministers possessed his confidence, and all they had to do was to execute his commands. The whole burthen both of the king's public and private correspondence rested upon two secretaries, who were scarcely allowed to quit their rooms. The following extract of a letter from Sir C. Hanbury Williams, the British minister at Berlin, to Mr. Fox, conveys a lively idea of Frederick's habits: "His Prussian Majesty's ministers at Berlin, I mean those for foreign affairs, make the oddest figure of any in Europe. They seldom or never see any despatches that are sent to the Prussian ministers at foreign courts, and all letters that come to the king from foreign courts go directly to the king, so that M. Podewils and Count Finkenstein know no more of what passes in Europe than what they are

informed of by the Gazettes. When any of us go to them on any business, the surprise they are in easily betrays their ignorance, and the only answer you ever get is, that they will lay what you say before their master, and give you an answer as soon as he shall have signified his pleasure to them. When you return to their houses for this answer, they tell you the exact words which the king has directed, and never one word more, nor are you permitted to argue any point." * * * "If a courier is to be despatched to Versailles, or a minister to Vienna, his Prussian Majesty draws himself the instructions for the one, and writes the letters for the other. This, you will say, is great; but if a dancer at the Opera has disputes with a singer, or if one of those performers wants a new pair of stockings, a plume for his helmet, or a finer petticoat, the same King of Prussia sits in judgment on the cause, and with his own hand answers the dancer's or the singer's letter. His Majesty laid out 20,000*l.* to build a fine theatre, and his music and singers cost him near the same sum every year; yet this same King, when an opera is to be performed, will not allow 10*l.* a night to light up the theatre with wax candles; and the smoke that rises from the bad oil, and the horrid stink that flows from the tallow, make many of the audience sick, and actually spoil the whole entertainment. What I have thought about this prince is very true; and I believe after reading what I say about him, you will think so too. He is great in great things, and little in little ones!" The following extracts from Frederick's marginal notes to some of the Reports from his cabinet ministers will serve to illustrate the statements of the preceding letter:—

Petition from Simon, merchant and commercial counsellor (*Commerzien Rath*) at Stettin, to be allowed to purchase the estate of Kraatzen for 40,000 dollars.

Petition from the town of Frankfurt-on-Oder, against the quartering of troops upon them.

Petition from Col. J—t, that he may be stationed in Silesia, as he intends to purchase estates in that province.

Petition from *Kammerherr* Baron v. Müller, for leave to visit the baths at Aix-la-Chapelle.

40,000 dollars invested in commerce will bring in 8 per cent., in landed property only 4 per cent. So this man does not understand his own business. A cobbler should continue a cobbler; a merchant should think of his trade, and not of buying estates.

Why, it cannot be otherwise. Do they think that I can put the regiment into my pocket? But the barracks shall be rebuilt.

That is the very reason why he must not be stationed in Silesia. He would improve the estates and neglect the service.

What would he do there? He would gamble away the little money he has left, and come back like a beggar.

Renewed petition from Baron v. Müller for leave to visit the baths.

Petition from *Forstmeister* von Posen, that his son may not be forcibly carried off to the military profession.

Petition from the merchant Hintze for leave to import 10,000 cwt. of copper, duty free.

Petition from Capt. von E—t, who had left the army, praying that he may be reappointed to it, his marriage with a rich heiress, for the sake of which he retired, having failed.

Let him go to the devil !

He will be better educated in a regiment than in a village.

Give him a round refusal.

The army is not a public-house, where people may run in and out as they please. Since this man has once left the service, he can have no ambition, and I hate such officers.*

&c. &c.

After his ministers had retired Frederick wrote letters, gave audiences to his subjects, and visited the parade, where he remained until dinner, which was always served up precisely at twelve o'clock. The dishes were highly seasoned and dressed after the Italian or French fashion ; and the dessert always consisted of ripe fruit, of which the king was so fond, that in winter two dollars a-piece were sometimes paid for cherries. Covers were generally laid for eight or ten persons, principally Frenchmen, whose conversation delighted him so much that he frequently remained at table until four o'clock. Then he played on the flute for half an hour, signed papers, and either walked in his garden or amused himself with French composition ; for in the midst of all his employments Frederick found time in the course of a long life to publish fifteen large volumes of prose and poetry. At six there was a concert, and at seven the king and a few select guests sat down to supper. In the months of May and June he regularly made a progress through his dominions for the purpose of reviewing the troops, and ascertaining by personal inspection the efficiency of every department of the public service ; after which he enjoyed a few weeks' relaxation at some watering-place. Under an administration so vigorous and at the same time so just as that of Frederick, Prussia rose with inconceivable rapidity to the rank of a first-rate power. Within ten years from the time of his accession an extensive tract of swampy land in the neighbourhood of Stettin, which had hitherto been uninhabitable, contained 280 villages swarming with industrious handicraftsmen and agriculturists ; the Oder was made navigable by means of canals ; large warehouses erected on its banks ; and intelligent foreigners encouraged to embark their capital in mercantile and farming spe-

* See Lord Mahon's *History of England*, vol. iv., App. p. vii. seq.

culations. The culture of the potato was introduced with great success; and its general use as an article of food enforced by such arguments as none but absolute sovereigns can employ. To promote the intellectual improvement of his people Frederick, as we have seen, built a noble opera-house at Berlin, added many thousand volumes to the public library, and expended enormous sums in the purchase of pictures and statues. A Roman Catholic church and Protestant cathedral were also built at Berlin. But in all these exertions for the welfare of his subjects he seems to have been actuated by no higher motive than a desire to obtain the approbation of men, and, as a necessary consequence, when those whom he most favoured repaid his kindness with ingratitude, he became misanthropical, and towards the end of his life lavished all his affection on dogs and horses. His favourite grey charger Condé, which was so tame that it would follow him into the dining-hall and eat out of his hand, died in the year 1804, at the age of thirty-eight. One of his dogs, a favourite greyhound, drove out every day in a coach and six, with outriders, running footmen, and all the state of a royal personage. In speaking to her Frederick always used the pronoun *Sie*, whilst his generals and ministers were addressed by the familiar appellation of *Er*.* The graves of these four-footed favourites may still be seen in the gardens at Sans Souci. As a political economist Frederick seems to have been very little in advance of his age. For the protection of native industry, prohibitory duties were imposed on articles of foreign manufacture, which, as a matter of course, were smuggled into the country by speculators, who, after obtaining a reasonable profit for the risk incurred, could still afford to undersell the slow and clumsy workmen of Prussia. Salt, tobacco, and coffee were government monopolies, and sold at prices sufficiently high to encourage illicit manufacture. To prevent the consumption of untaxed coffee, the roasting of that article, except at the government establishments, was strictly prohibited, and officers appointed (called by the people Coffee-smellers) who were required to seek out and report all cases of disobedience. The king's attention was one day attracted by a crowd of citizens, who seemed to be amusing themselves with some object affixed to a dead wall at the corner of one of the streets. On inquiring the cause, he was told that some person had presumed to caricature

* An obsolete form of expression, holding a middle place between the familiar "Du," and the respectful "Sie."

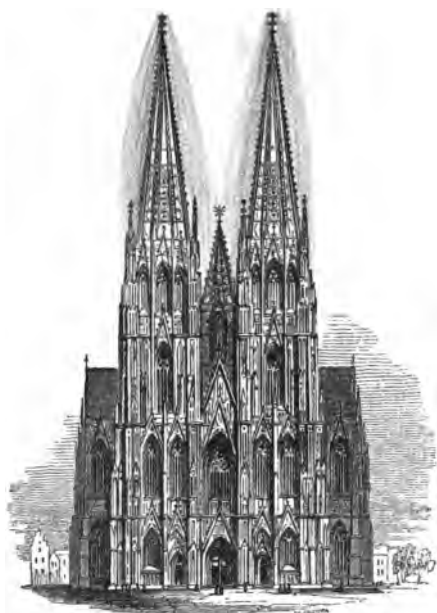
his Majesty. "Oh, is that all?" said Frederick; "come, let us see your caricature;" and, riding into the midst of the crowd, he saw at a considerable height above the people's heads an absurd likeness of himself seated on the ground, with a coffee-mill between his legs and an inscription, "Old Fritz the grinder." With the most perfect good-humour he ordered the picture to be removed and pasted lower down on the wall, that all might see it; and rode off amidst the cheers of his delighted subjects. All the dealings of Frederick with his people were characterized by a love of justice. On the very verge of his grounds at Sans Souci stood a windmill, which he wished to purchase, that he might pull it down and include the site in his own gardens. But the miller was obstinate, and refused to part with his property on any terms. The king then had recourse to threats, which were equally unavailing, the miller coolly replying that if any violence were offered to his mill he should summon his majesty before the royal court of Berlin; a threat which, according to some authorities, he actually carried into effect, and obtained a verdict against his sovereign: at all events, it is certain that the king showed his respect for the laws by permitting the mill to remain, and even rebuilt it on a large scale. Some years ago the miller, who was in embarrassed circumstances, offered to sell his property to the late King of Prussia; but, instead of purchasing, the king settled an annuity on the proprietor, sufficient for his own support and for the maintenance of what had now become a national monument. Although the favours of Frederick II. were distributed for the most part among the Frenchmen who composed the select society of his court, many learned men of other nations were attracted to Berlin by the unbounded freedom of discussion which he allowed to writers on every subject. "Let my people write, and talk, and think, and speculate as much as they please," he used to say, "provided they *obey*." A literary man, who had travelled over a great part of the world, but feared to encounter the "sparrow's diet and ass's labour" of the Prussian court, was at last induced to visit Berlin, and told Frederick that he had seen seven kings, wild or tame, but never such a monarch as his majesty. Nothing delighted Frederick more than a readiness at repartee. A young officer, too poor to purchase a watch, had attached a chain and seals to a musket bullet, which he wore in his fob. The king, who had been informed of this piece of foppery, resolved to punish him, and the next day on parade

asked him what o'clock it was. Blushing deeply, the young man drew out his bullet and modestly replied, "Sire, my watch points only to one hour—that in which I am ready to die for your majesty." The king was so pleased at this reply that he pulled out his own watch and presented it to the officer. Frederick's death took place on the 17th of August, 1786. The last of his companions in arms, General Ziethen, had died in the previous January. For nearly half a century they had fought side by side in the field, and often bivouacked at the same fire, where Frederick would watch for hours over the old man as he lay on the ground exhausted by a long day's march. "Let poor old Ziethen sleep now," he said to a soldier, who stumbled in laying a faggot on the fire; "he has often watched that we might sleep." In one of their nightly rounds Frederick and his friend were attracted by the savoury odour of some bacon which a soldier was broiling at his fire. "That stuff smells well, comrade," said Frederick. "May be," replied the man, gruffly; "but the smell is all you are likely to get of it." "Hush, blockhead," whispered one of his comrades, who had recognised the king's voice, "it is his majesty." "Well," replied the first speaker, who treated the whole affair as a joke of his messmates, and did not even vouchsafe to look up from his supper; "and suppose it were old Fritz—what then?" "Comrade," said the king, taking Ziethen by the arm, "we may as well be gone, for I hardly think our friend will invite us to take pot-luck with him to-night." Towards the end of his last illness, a dropsy, which continued with short intervals of comparative ease for nearly two years, Frederick was carried daily into the gardens of Sans Souci, where he used to sit for hours together basking in the sun. "Je serai bientôt plus près de lui," were almost his last words. His death produced a sensation throughout the whole of Europe, for there was scarcely a palace or a hovel in which his name was not known for good or for evil. They buried him in the garrison church at Potsdam, near the grave of his father, notwithstanding the desire which he had often expressed that his body should rest in the midst of his dogs on the sunny terrace of Sans Souci. The uniform which he wore on the day of his death, with his crutch-handled walking-cane and flute, are still preserved in the museum at Berlin.

CHAPTER LVIII.

JOSEPH II.—LEOPOLD II.

From A.D. 1765 to 1792.



Cathedral of Cologne.—Completion of the original Design.

FRANCIS I. died in the year 1765, and was succeeded by his son Joseph II., who exercised little authority until the death of Maria Theresa in 1780. Among the most important events of his reign may be reckoned the dismemberment of Poland and the war of the Bavarian succession. The crown of Poland having become vacant in 1765 by the death of Augustus III., a Russian army advanced upon Warsaw, and, being supported by a large Prussian force on the frontier, compelled the Poles to elect Stanislaus Poniatowski, a creature of the Empress Catherine II. Shortly after this event a war broke out between Russia and Turkey, in which the former took possession of Wallachia and Moldavia. Austria having vehemently protested against her retaining these

conquests, it was proposed, as the best mode of restoring the balance of power, that the territory of Poland should be divided between Russia, Prussia, and Austria; a suggestion which was fully carried into effect in the year 1773. Maria Theresa, now almost incapacitated by age and infirmity from taking an active part in public affairs, could not refrain from raising her voice against this deed of shame; which she was unable to prevent—and wrote thus to her minister Kaunitz:—"When all mine own dominions were assailed, and I knew not where to lay my head in peace, I relied on my good cause and the help of Almighty God. But in the present affair, wherein not only political right, but honesty and common sense are against us, I must needs confess that never in the whole course of my life have I felt so grieved and ashamed. I know that I stand alone, and am no longer *en vigueur*; I must therefore let things take their course—but it is pain and grief to me. *Placet*—because so many great and learned men will have it so; but long after my death you will regret this daring violation of all that has hitherto been held sacred." Maximilian Joseph, Elector of Bavaria, having died without issue in 1777, the succession to his electoral dignity was claimed by the Emperor Joseph, who compelled the rightful heir to cede two-thirds of Bavaria to the Austrians. This act of gross oppression roused Frederick the Great, who immediately crossed the mountains into Bohemia, where Joseph awaited him with a considerable force; but, after a few skirmishes between the light troops on both sides, a treaty of peace was signed at Tetschen on the 13th of May, 1779. By this treaty the whole of Bavaria, with a trifling exception, was secured to the Duke of Zweibrücken. Men called this war in derision the "Potato war," because the soldiers had little else to do but roast and eat their potatoes. After the death of Maria Theresa in 1780, Joseph II. commenced his reforms in church and state. A proclamation was issued forbidding obedience to the Pope's bull unless confirmed by the imperial "*placet*:" all the mendicant orders were suppressed, and six hundred and twenty-four monasteries deprived of their revenues; whilst at the same time full toleration was granted to all sectaries except the Deists. The consternation excited at Rome by the intelligence of these daring innovations was so great, that Pope Pius VI. judged it necessary to cross the Alps without delay, and confront the Emperor in his capital. The whole of this journey was like a triumphal procession, thousands

falling down at his feet as he passed, and imploring his blessing. Joseph alone and his minister Kaunitz received the head of their church with coldness, and strove to convince him by a series of petty annoyances that his arrival at Vienna was neither expected nor welcome. A pontifical high mass was celebrated in the cathedral of Vienna, but the Emperor and his suite were intentionally absent. None were suffered to accost Pius without special permission; and in order to prevent the infringement of this inhospitable regulation, the doors of his lodging were walled up, with the exception of one, which was closely watched night and day by a piquet of the imperial guard. After four weeks spent in ineffectual negotiations, the Pope quitted Vienna, and was accompanied as far as the monastery of Marienbrunn by Joseph, who manifested his contempt for papal authority by suppressing the monastery almost before Pius and his suite had ceased to be visible from its towers. Meanwhile the people in most of the distant provinces were restless and discontented; for their priests had persuaded them that the ecclesiastical reforms of the Emperor were only the commencement of an attempt to abolish the Christian religion. In several places the Protestants were grossly insulted; and at Villach on the Drave a ridiculous figure, intended to represent Dr. Martin Luther, was drawn through the town on a hurdle, and thrown into the river. Nor were the endeavours of Joseph to improve the political condition of the Empire received with much favour, either by the nobles or their vassals; the former protesting against any infringement of their privileges, whilst the people, too ignorant to understand the value of liberty, sided for the most part with those whom they had been accustomed to obey. To add to his embarrassments, a league was formed in 1785 between Prussia, Saxony, Hanover, Brunswick, Mecklenburg, and several other powers, for the express purpose of resisting his design of exchanging the Austrian Netherlands for Bavaria. The establishment of this alliance was almost the last public act of Frederick II., who died in the following year. In 1788 the Emperor Joseph engaged in a war with Turkey, which he was compelled to abandon after losing 33,000 of his men by sickness and desertion. About the same time the people of the Netherlands, at the instigation of an advocate named Van der Noot, declared themselves independent of Austria, and established a republic under the name of "The United Belgian Commonwealth." During these contentions

Joseph died, on the 20th of February, 1790. Disappointment at the failure of all his plans seems to have brought on the crisis of a disease under which he had been labouring ever since the Turkish campaign. "I am dying," he said, after receiving intelligence that his favourite project of reform in Hungary had failed through the obstinacy of those for whose benefit it was intended; "my heart must be of stone not to break." Joseph committed a most impolitic act in demolishing the frontier fortresses of the Netherlands, and thus leaving that country exposed to the first attack of France. He was incited to it by the discontents of the Flemings, and seems to have thought that the marriage of his sister with Louis XVI. would secure him the perpetual friendship of the French nation.

Joseph II. was succeeded in his hereditary estates by his brother Peter Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany, who was chosen Emperor of Germany on the 20th of September of the same year.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER LVIII.

Kaunitz.—The habits of this minister were ridiculously effeminate. "Fresh air," writes his admirer Hormahr, "he never enjoyed; and, to own the truth, never could endure. In the hottest days of summer, if only a breath of wind stirred as he sat in the balcony, he used to hold a handkerchief before his mouth. In his apartment hung a thermometer and barometer. In the written instructions which he gave to his private secretary, the mention of two words was strictly prohibited, "Death" and "small-pox." So great was his vanity, that when he wished to bestow unqualified praise on any one, his expression always was, "I could not have done it better myself." Everything on him and about him was French. Linen, clothes, watches, and furniture, were all brought from Paris, where perhaps they had been manufactured by German workmen, or even sent thither from Vienna. A beautiful watch, which he had received from Paris a few days before, having suddenly stopped, Kaunitz was compelled, sorely against his will, to intrust it to a Viennese artist named Riedel, whose skill had often been extolled by his attendants. With ill-disguised contempt Kaunitz desired him to examine the watch, and be careful not to injure its delicate French

mechanism. The artist obeyed, and opening a secret spring, showed the astonished minister the inscription "Made by Riedel of Vienna."

Sale of Recruits to Foreign Powers.—The practice of selling their subjects as soldiers to foreign governments, which had been introduced by Saxony towards the end of the eighteenth century, soon became common among the petty sovereigns of Northern Germany. "A couple of thousand years ago," says an anonymous writer, "it was said of Tyre, that her merchants were princes. In the present day we must reverse the proverb, and say our princes are merchants; for they sell everything—employments, orders, titles, justice; yea, even the bodies of their subjects." In the year 1776 Frederick, Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, agreed to furnish a body of 12,000 men to England for the service of her colonies. "Among the rest," writes Huergelmer, "there is a Hessian prince, who must needs distinguish himself. Now palaces, and gardens, and phéasant preserves, and operas, and mistresses cannot be kept up for nothing, especially when a man is burdened with the debts of his forefathers of blessed memory. Our prince therefore casts about how to procure funds. And what does he do? Why, he picks me up out of the streets certain ragged knaves, expends some fifty dollars a-head in clothing them, and then sells them out at one hundred dollars per man." "All the women in Hesse," says another writer, "seem to me to be in mourning, either for their husbands and sons, who have been kidnapped and sent to America; or it may be, because the colour is becoming to their dark complexions and black hair!"

The Illuminati of Germany.—In the year 1776 Professor Weishaupt founded at Ingoldstadt a secret society, termed the Order of the Illuminati, whose professed object was the extinction of all religious belief. Their constitution closely resembled that of the Jesuits, each member swearing implicit obedience to the commands of his superior. The mischievous proceedings of this society seem to have been unknown to the Bavarian authorities until the year 1785, when many of the initiated were banished or imprisoned, and their founder, Weishaupt, compelled to seek refuge at the court of the Duke of Gotha, who favoured their designs. Thence the poison spread to the Rhenish states, and subsequently into France. At Mentz the views of the Illuminati were adopted by Dalberg, coadjutor of the archiepiscopal see, and by a literary man of ruined character, named

Bahrddt, who published a succession of popular tracts, written with the avowed intention of persuading the common people to renounce Christianity. The result of their exertions was the establishment of a Jacobin club, among the members of which were the celebrated circumnavigator Forster, and other learned men, whom the patronage of the Elector Frederick Charles had induced to reside at his court. At the commencement of the revolutionary war Mentz was given up to the French general Custine, through the treachery of Eckenmauer, whom the Elector had appointed commandant of the city. A strange scene now ensued. The Jacobins, intoxicated with the success of their plans, opened a large book, in which they required all to inscribe their names who voted for the establishment of a republic. At the same time some Clubbists dashed to pieces a stone of which, according to tradition, a former Elector had said that the people should never have their privileges until it had crumbled away. But neither threats nor cajolery could make the substantial burghers understand the value of French freedom, although many of their wives and daughters paraded the streets with girdles round their waists, having the word "Liberty" in front and "Equality" behind, or danced round the tree of liberty with swords by their sides and pistols in their hands. At length the Jacobins, protected by a formidable array of French bayonets, themselves proclaimed a republic, deposed all the officers of the ancient electorate, and elevated one Dorsch, a native of Strasbourg, to the president's chair (1792).

CHAPTER LIX.

LEOPOLD II.—FRANCIS II.—FREDERICK WILLIAM II.

From A.D. 1790 to 1806.



Hofer's House in the Valley of Passeyer.

THE breaking out of the French Revolution in 1789, which shook all Europe to its centre, was destined to produce the most important changes in the Germanic empire. The decree of the French Assembly abolishing all distinction of ranks was followed by the emigration of the greater part of the French nobility, most of whom settled in Germany, and especially at Coblenz and Worms. At their head were Monsieur and the Count d'Artois, the brothers of the French King, who opened negotiations with most of the European sovereigns, and conjured them to defend the cause of legitimacy against the assaults to which it was exposed. Louis XVI. himself was wavering between the expediency of joining the emigration, or of throwing himself into the arms of the National Assembly.

The German sovereigns were disposed to assist the French King. The Austrian court was personally interested in the question, through the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, the sister of the emperor; and likewise considered itself bound to protect

the German princes and nobles on the Rhine, whose estates and feudal rights on the French territory had been invaded by the new French constitution. At the same time the distracted state of France seemed to offer an easy conquest of that country. In August 1791, the Emperor Leopold, King Frederick William II. of Prussia, and the Count d'Artois, concluded an alliance at Pillnitz, and published a manifesto declaring that they considered the situation of Louis XVI. as a matter of common interest to all European sovereigns, and that they were resolved to restore the French monarchy by force of arms.

This declaration, however, remained at first a mere threat. It was not followed up by any active steps, which seemed, indeed, to be rendered unnecessary by the King of France's having accepted the constitution. In spite of the treaty, there was from the beginning no cordial co-operation between Austria and Prussia. The latter power was more occupied with her schemes of aggrandisement in Poland, than with the cause of legitimacy in France; whilst the Austrian minister, Kaunitz, with the indolence natural to his character, was inculcating indifference on his master, and persuading him to leave the French to be swallowed up in the volcano of their own revolution. But the treaty of Pillnitz, and especially the arming of the French emigrants, had produced a great sensation in France. The more violent orators of the National Assembly were for taking the initiative in hostile measures; and in spite of the opposition of Robespierre, the King was forced, in April 1792, to declare war against Austria.

The Emperor had already begun to prepare for the approaching struggle, by sending large forces into the Netherlands and the Breisgau, and by concluding a treaty with Sweden on the 7th February. But this was the last act of both the contracting monarchs. On the 1st of the following March, Leopold died, and was succeeded in the empire by his son Francis II., then hardly twenty-four years of age; and on the 16th of the same month Gustavus fell at a masked ball by the hand of an assassin.

Against the large, but as yet ill-disciplined French armies posted on the frontiers of France, Austria and Prussia alone took the field. England was neutral, Russia intent on seizing Poland. The summer of 1792 was far advanced before the allied German army reached the Rhine. It was commanded by Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick, the companion in arms of Frederick the Great in the Seven Years' War, and at that time reputed the

ablest general in Europe. Ferdinand, however, was averse to the war. An easily acquired military renown was at stake, and even, perhaps, the sacrifice of brilliant hopes which he had conceived from his secret negotiations with some of the leaders of the French revolution.* At the same time Prussia was not hearty in the cause. She merely wished to make a show of hostility on the Rhine, for the purpose of propitiating Catherine of Russia.

On the 25th of July the King of Prussia joined the army at Coblenz, and on the same day the celebrated and ill-omened manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick was published, declaring the intention of the allies to restore the power of the French monarch, and threatening that if any violence were offered to him, his queen, or any of the royal family, a signal vengeance would be taken, and Paris delivered up to military execution and destruction. The effect of this proclamation was precisely the reverse of that intended. Instead of frightening the French people, it stung them into fury, and was the immediate cause of the death of Louis, and the establishment of the Republic.

So confident were the allies of success that the Duke of Brunswick said to his officers, "Gentlemen, not too much baggage; it is nothing but a military promenade." But their first entrance into Champagne served to dissipate these illusions. Instead of being joined by the population, as the emigrants had led them to expect, they found the people every where hostile. The whole campaign was decided by two battles—those of Valmy and Jemappes. The former was a mere distant cannonade, for the Duke of Brunswick hesitated to attack the French. He was in fact secretly negotiating with the French General Dumouriez, and endeavouring to persuade him to join the invaders and support the throne of France. Dumouriez at first pretended to listen to these proposals; but when he felt himself strong enough, he threw off the mask. The King of Prussia, however, was for prosecuting the war with vigour, and orders were given to advance. But this determination was altered by a decree of the Committee of Public Safety, declaring that they would enter into no negotiations so long as a Prussian force remained on the French soil.† Shortly afterwards the abolition of the monarchy and establishment of a republic in France were announced. On

* Alison's *History of Europe*, chap. x.

† The determination is also said to have been influenced by a bribe administered to the Countess Lichtenau, the King of Prussia's mistress.

the 25th of October the Duke of Brunswick recrossed the Rhine ; Dumouriez left Kellermann to pursue him, and hastened to attack the Austrians in Flanders. On the 6th of November a battle ensued at Jemappes with the main body of the Austrians under the Archduke Albert. The French lines were at first broken, but were rallied by Dumouriez's valet, Baptiste, and by the young Duke de Chartres, afterwards Louis Philippe, King of the French. A complete victory was gained by the French, which led to the conquest of all Flanders. On the 14th November the French entered Brussels and proclaimed liberty and equality, having first plundered all that they could lay hands on. For the most part, the Flemings, who had been alienated from Austria by the conduct of Joseph II., regarded this event with joy.

The French now gave full scope to the rage excited in them by the Duke of Brunswick's manifesto, and the invasion of their territory. On the 21st January, 1793, Louis XVI. was brought to the block ; and before the expiration of the year the same fate overtook his unfortunate queen Marie Antoinette. In February 1793, France declared war against England, Spain, and Holland. England now joined the first great coalition, and nearly the whole of Europe seemed leagued against France. Dumouriez, after being twice defeated by the allies, deserted to their ranks. Nevertheless the war was carried on without vigour or success. The English expedition into the Low Countries was ill conducted. On the Rhine, the French republican armies under Pichegru and Hoche made themselves masters of Alsace, and in the following year reconquered all the places which had been taken from them. France was converted into a vast camp. At the call of Carnot more than a million of armed men seemed to start as it were from the earth. Towards the end of 1794 the French entered Holland, and took possession of Utrecht and Amsterdam. Germany had nothing to oppose to the enthusiasm of the armies of France but a host selfish, indifferent, and without the slightest feeling of patriotism. Nothing could show more strongly than the events of this campaign, that the body called "the German empire" was a mere visionary phantom without life or soul. A contemporary writer describes the imperial forces as a mob clothed in the most various uniforms, and more resembling Jack Puddings than soldiers. Here a convent sent two men ; there a small court furnished forth an ensign ; there again a town provided a captain. Of love of country there was not a single trace.

For that, indeed, it was necessary to have a country ; but Germany was for the most part a mere group of little despotisms characterized by oppression, pride, slavery, and indescribable weakness. The Abbé de Pradt compared its numerous states to a vast menagerie, the inhabitants of which survey one another through the bars of their cages. Hunting parties, balls, operas, mistresses, consumed all the money which the princes wrung from their subjects, and left nothing for the defence of the frontiers. Prussia, determined by the conquest of Holland, at length openly deserted the cause which she had all along so lukewarmly supported. On the 5th of April, 1795, she concluded at Basle a separate peace with the French republicans, conceding the left bank of the Rhine, for which she was to receive an ulterior compensation. Her subsequent overthrow and humiliation was but a just retribution for her selfish conduct on this occasion.

Austria, however, continued the war. Kaunitz had retired from the imperial council, and was succeeded by Thugut, the son of a poor fisherman at Lintz, who had risen to that high post solely by his abilities. But in the field the obsolete tactics of the Austrians, and, with the exception of the emperor's brother, the Archduke Charles, the want of any distinguished talent, in their generals, rendered them an unequal match for the great captain who now appeared upon the theatre of war. This was Napoleon Buonaparte, a young man of twenty-six years of age, the son of a Corsican advocate, who had already distinguished himself as an artillery officer at the siege of Toulon, and who was now intrusted with the command of the French army in Italy. Besides this army, two others were destined for the invasion of Germany : one under Jourdan on the Lower Rhine, and the other under Moreau on the Upper Rhine. In the month of April, 1796, Napoleon crossed the Alps, and having forced the Sardinians to sign a treaty of peace with France, several times defeated the Austrian general Beaulieu, and compelled him to retreat into the Tyrol. In the beginning of the following year the Italian general Alvinzi was defeated near Rivoli ; and Wurmser, who had thrown himself into Mantua with 21,000 men, surrendered at discretion to Napoleon. Meanwhile the other French armies had penetrated into the heart of Germany ; but Jourdan having been overthrown by the Archduke Charles, was compelled to fall back on the Rhine, whilst Moreau effected a masterly retreat through Suabia and the Black Forest, and joined his colleague on

the banks of that river. On the other side, however, Napoleon penetrated in 1797 through the Tyrol into Styria, and threatened the Austrian capital itself. Under these circumstances negotiations were opened for a peace. Notwithstanding his brilliant success, Napoleon was in a somewhat perilous situation; the main body of his army, which seemed too small and too ill provided with cavalry to push forwards into the heart of Austria, being far advanced into the mountains, and his wings menaced by a rising of the people in Croatia and the Tyrol. The Austrians purposely prolonged the negotiations, in the hope that a more moderate government would be established in France. The snows of October, which already began to cover the summits of the Alps, indicated the necessity for a termination of the campaign. Napoleon grew impatient, and declared that if a treaty were not signed in 12 hours he would immediately recommence operations. Nothing having been done at the expiration of that time, Napoleon proceeded to the Austrian ambassador's, and seizing a vase which he highly valued, exclaimed: "The die is then cast, the truce broken, and war declared; but mark my words! before the end of autumn I will shatter your monarchy as I destroy this porcelain:" and immediately dashed the vase on the floor. The Austrian plenipotentiary was thunderstruck, and on the following day, October 17th, 1797, the treaty of Campo Formio was signed.* It was an arrangement designed entirely for the aggrandisement of France and Austria, and in which the interests of Germany were left out of sight. Flanders and the left bank of the Rhine were ceded to France, and the Cisalpine Republic established in Italy. Austria was to have Venice, for which, however, she ceded Mentz to France.

But this peace was destined to be of short duration. By an article of the treaty, a congress was appointed to meet at Rastadt, near Baden, to settle the affairs of the empire. When it assembled, loud complaints against Austria were raised by those German princes whose interests had been sacrificed by the peace of Campo Formio. M. Lehrbach, the Austrian minister, replied with some justice, that his court had done all it could to uphold the integrity of the empire, and that if it had been unsuccessful, it was owing to the defection of those who had lent no assistance to the common cause. In these conferences Germany seemed prostrate at the foot of France. Talleyrand, then the French minister for foreign

* Alison's *History of Europe*, chap. liii.

affairs, was bribed with gold, and with the sacrifice of female honour, to procure advantages for various German princes. The French plenipotentiaries at Rastadt, Robertjot, Bonnier, and Jean de Bry, conducted themselves with the greatest insolence, and treated the representatives of the German nation *en canaille*. These insults roused the anger of the Germans. On the 13th April, 1798, the hotel of General Bernadotte, the French ambassador at the court of Vienna, was attacked by the populace. Bernadotte had given on that day a *fête* to his friends, during which he caused an immense tricolor flag, inscribed with the words "*Liberté, Egalité*," to be hoisted before his gate. The Viennese, conceiving that this was intended as an insult to their sovereign, surrounded his hotel in menacing crowds. One of the assailants having been wounded by a pistol discharged from a window, the populace immediately scaled the walls, destroyed the ambassador's furniture and carriages, and would probably have taken his life, had not two regiments of cuirassiers arrived to the rescue. Bernadotte quitted Vienna the following day with a numerous escort of cavalry, and in a high state of exasperation. Angry conferences ensued at Seltz, which ended in a rupture between France and Austria. The former power insisted on reparation for the insult offered to her ambassador, whilst Austria demanded explanations respecting the recent French invasion of Switzerland, and occupation of Italy. The absence of Buonaparte in Egypt seemed to the Austrians to present a favourable opportunity for striking a blow, and they now entered into the second great coalition with England and Russia. In Germany the war was at first attended with some advantages on the side of the Austrians, and the battle of Stockach, March 26, 1799, in which Jourdan was defeated by the Archduke Charles, placed the town of Rastadt in their power. The Congress was still sitting there; for though at war with Austria, France was still at peace with the German empire. The desire of the Austrian cabinet to learn to what extent the German princes had made advances to the French Directory led to a fatal catastrophe. The French plenipotentiaries were directed to leave the town on the 19th of April, as it was about to be occupied by the imperial troops; but the escort which they demanded was refused, it being the intention of the Austrians to seize their papers. As they were leaving the town in the evening, they were set upon in a small wood not far from the gates by a party of Austrian hussars, and sabred. Jean de

Bry alone escaped with his life, who, having been struck down into a ditch, had the presence of mind to feign that he was dead. This gross violation of international law excited universal indignation in Europe. The Austrian authorities did not probably intend that the French ministers should be murdered; but the mere attack upon them deserves the severest reprobation, especially as the Austrian government took no steps to discover the perpetrators.

This outrage inspired the French with fresh vigour. The campaign, which had previously languished, was now conducted with the greatest ardour, but our limits will not permit us to enter into details. A prominent feature of it was the great success of the Russians under Suwaroff, who utterly routed Moreau's army near Cassano in Lombardy, subsequently penetrated into Switzerland, and, if he had been well supported by the Austrians, might probably have marched to Paris. These advantages, however, were neutralised by the want of cordial co-operation between the Austrians and Russians; and the war was brought to a close by the campaign of Napoleon, now First Consul, in Italy, and that of Moreau in Germany. The former was decided by Napoleon's victory over the Austrian general, Melas, at Marengo, June 14th, 1800, the latter by the still more important one gained by Moreau over the Archduke John at Hohenlinden on the 3rd of December of the same year, by which the road to Vienna was laid open to the French. Austria was now forced to conclude a peace at Luneville, February 9th, 1801, the conditions of which were not very different from those of Campo Formio.

Germany was indignant that Austria had signed this treaty in the name of the empire. The question of indemnity for those German princes who had suffered by the late events still remained, and for the purpose of settling it a committee of the imperial diet was appointed. It was perceived that more might be gained by negotiation and diplomacy on this occasion than by the results of the most successful campaign. The German states in alliance with France, which country had now entered into a close compact with Russia, obtained the lion's share of the spoil. The recess of the diet of the 25th February, 1803, was the most important arrangement of the internal affairs of Germany that had occurred since the peace of Westphalia, and gave an entirely new face to the empire. The principle on which it chiefly proceeded was the secularization of the ecclesiastical sovereignties. As the three spiritual elec-

torates of Trèves, Cologne, and Mentz lay on the left bank of the Rhine, they were abolished, though the last was transferred to Ratisbon. By way of compensation, the electoral dignity was conferred on the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the Duke of Würtemberg, the Margrave of Baden, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the Emperor's brother, to whom Salzburg had been assigned by way of compensation for what he had lost in Italy. All the free imperial cities were done away with except six, viz., Lübeck, Hamburg, Bremen, Frankfort, Augsburg, and Nuremberg, as well as all the bishoprics and abbacies which had not been previously secularised, and a vast number of the smaller German principalities. The dominions of Bavaria, Baden, and Würtemberg were greatly augmented at the expense of their neighbours. But Prussia above all now reaped the fruits of her adherence to France, and of her desertion of the German cause. To her were assigned the bishoprics of Hildesheim and Paderborn, a great part of Münster, together with many abbacies and free cities in Westphalia and Thuringia, especially Erfurt; making up altogether about four times as much as she had lost on the left bank of the Rhine.

The peace which had been concluded between England and France at Amiens on the 27th March, 1802, lasted but little more than a year; and the recommencement of hostilities between those countries was signalled by a fresh insult to the German empire on the part of France, in the seizure and occupation of the electorate of Hanover. After that event some thousands of Hanoverians passed over into England, where they were formed into a brigade called "the King's German Legion," and served with distinction in Spain, Portugal, France, and Italy. Another subject of complaint was the violation of the German territory by the seizure of the Duke d'Enghien at Ettenheim, and his subsequent murder. But a still greater humiliation was reserved for the house of Austria. In May, 1804, Napoleon assumed the empire, and in March of the following year converted the Ligurian and Cisalpine republics into a kingdom of Italy, and appropriated the iron crown of Lombardy. In these proceedings Napoleon purposely followed the precedent of Charlemagne, and virtually overthrew the pretensions of the German Emperor to be regarded as the successor of the Cæsars. The Austrian cabinet, however, which was not prepared for war, dissembled its indignation. It was with the greatest difficulty that it was at

length induced to join the third great coalition now forming against France by England, Russia, and Sweden. The grounds of its reluctance were the ill state of its finances, and the certainty of exposing the Austrian territory to attack. The former difficulty was obviated by Great Britain undertaking to furnish subsidies, and in August, 1805, Austria joined the coalition. Prussia still stood aloof, expecting to be rewarded with Hanover. Austria committed a fatal mistake in withdrawing the command of her armies from the Archduke Charles and entrusting it to the incompetent Mack, whose name, said General Bülow, is, in the prophetic books of the Old Testament, equivalent to defeat. On the 17th October, 1805, Mack was totally defeated at Ulm by Napoleon, who had crossed the Rhine with the army of England. More than 60,000 men, the flower of the Austrian army, laid down their arms on that occasion. The garrison of Ulm, 30,000 strong, with 60 guns, defiled before Napoleon as he stood surrounded by a brilliant staff before the fire of a bivouac on a rocky eminence near the town. In November he was at Vienna: but a large Russian army under Kutusoff, accompanied by the Emperor Alexander in person, now appeared in Moravia, and was joined by Francis II., with the remnant of the Austrian forces. Besides this large army in front Napoleon was threatened in the rear by the Archduke Charles and his veteran battalions, who were rapidly approaching from Italy. The necessity for immediately striking a decisive blow was apparent; and on the 1st of December, 1805, Napoleon gained at Austerlitz one of his most splendid victories. Soon after this battle, which Napoleon called "the battle of the three emperors," a treaty of peace was signed at Presburg, by which Austria was stripped of a large part of her dominions. The victories of Napoleon had placed him in possession of an empire as large as that of Charlemagne, and he now proceeded to reward his friends and adherents. Crowns were bestowed with a lavish hand; new kingdoms started into being; and all Germany shortly assumed a different political aspect. His German allies were the first to taste of his munificence. Bavaria, with the additions of Anspach and Bayreuth taken from Prussia, and of the Tyrol, Vorarlberg, the Margravate of Burgau, the bishoprics of Passau, Trent, and Brixen, together with other provinces torn from Austria, was erected into a kingdom in favour of the Elector Maximilian Joseph. Frederick of Würtemberg also received the kingly dignity, and the Austrian pos-

sessions in Suabia were added to his dominions. Charles Frederick of Baden was made a grand duke, and received the Breisgau in addition to his hereditary states. Of all the Austrian spoils Napoleon reserved only Venice for himself, which was added to the kingdom of Italy. His brother Joseph was created King of Naples, his brother Louis King of Holland, and his step-son Eugène Beauharnais was named Viceroy of Italy.

The following year (1806) produced still greater changes in the political state of Germany. Napoleon had for some time been endeavouring to bring about a league, under his protection, of the German states on the right bank of the Rhine, which might serve both as a bulwark to France and a means of assistance in the war, which now seemed to be approaching, with Prussia and Russia. On the 12th of July the "Confederation of the Rhine" was actually signed. By this act sixteen German princes, the chief of whom were the kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg, formed a confederacy among themselves and with the French emperor, and were declared to be for ever severed from the German empire. The cabinet of Vienna felt that under a stroke like this, which deprived the imperial crown of the fairest portion of its territory and sixteen millions of subjects, the empire could no longer exist; and, on the 6th of August, Francis II., formally resigning the crown which had been worn by his predecessors since the days of Charlemagne, assumed the title of Emperor of Austria. The confederacy of the Rhine was subsequently joined by several more German states, among which was Saxe Weimar; a circumstance of no great moment in itself, but which seemed to place the representatives of German intellect there assembled at the feet of the conqueror. Goethe was mean enough to prostitute his muse by composing a poem in praise of Napoleon.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER LIX.

Second and third partitions of Poland.—The Polish diet which opened in 1788, supported by Frederick William II. of Prussia, proclaimed a new constitution of an entirely monarchical form, in which the ancient *veto* was done away with, and the throne declared hereditary in the house of Saxony. The Russians were driven out of Poland, and the new constitution received the public sanction both of Prussia and England. The

former power agreed to assist the Poles against all attacks with 30,000 men, and to uphold the Polish dependencies of Courland, Dantsic, and Thorn. This new constitution also received the approbation of the Emperor Leopold. The object of Frederick William II. in thus restoring the independence of Poland seems to have been to place a power between himself and the Russian states, as he then wished to employ his whole force in the west of Germany. No sooner were Austria and Prussia engaged in the war with France, than Catherine of Russia declared the new Polish constitution to be French and Jacobite, and in the absence of the Prussian army quickly overran the whole country. Frederick William II. was afraid to leave the Rhine, lest Austria should gain ground there. So far from keeping his word to assist the Poles, he agreed with Catherine in designating the very constitution which he had himself approved as *Jacobite*, and sent a Prussian army into Poland to receive his share of the booty. In this second partition Russia obtained Lithuania, Podolia, and the Ukraine, whilst Prussia got Thorn, Dantsic, and South Prussia (Posen and Kalisch). Austria was wholly guiltless of this second partition, and received nothing.

The indignation of the Poles was naturally roused by this nefarious transaction. Kosciusco, who in company with Lafayette had fought under Washington, raised the people, armed them with scythes, and proclaimed the restoration of Old Poland. It must not, however, be concealed that a large party among the Poles had imbibed the detestable principles of the French revolution, and that scenes of great atrocity were enacted in Warsaw and other places. Frederick William II., with the help of the Poles, might now have exterminated in Poland the influence of Russia, whose colossal power seemed to threaten Europe: but instead of this he helped to aggrandise her, and discarded all the principles of justice for the sake of a tract of country which cost more than it brought him. He himself took the field at the head of his army, and defeated the scythe-men of Kosciusco near Szezekociny in June, 1794, but was repulsed in an attempt upon Warsaw. The Russians, who had purposely awaited the withdrawal of the Prussians, then invaded Poland with a large army under Suwaroff. Kosciusco was defeated, wounded, and taken prisoner; Warsaw stormed and captured, and 18,000 of the inhabitants, of every age and sex, slaughtered. Then followed, in 1795, the third partition of Poland, or rather her complete annihilation. Russia

now took Lithuania and Volhynia to the Niemen and Bug; Prussia had all the country west of the Niemen, including Warsaw; Austria all that part south of the Bug. At the same time the old Polish fief of Courland was incorporated with Russia.

Kosciusko spent two years of his life in the dungeons of St. Petersburg, but on the death of Catherine was liberated by Paul I. He subsequently visited England, America, and Switzerland, and ended his days in France. Buonaparte made an unauthorised and most unjustifiable use of his name in an attempt to raise the Poles in 1806.

Excesses of the French republican soldiers in Germany.—The French republican soldiery that invaded Germany did not burn and murder to so great an extent as the armies which overran the Palatinate a century previously, but they robbed and plundered all the more. In Cologne they filled a whole church with coffee and sugar. In Aix-la-Chapelle they carried off the finest paintings of Rubens and Vandyck, the marble pillars from the altar of the cathedral, and the marble slab which covered the grave of Charlemagne. All these they sold to a Dutch Jew. Their beastly outrages, and the sacrileges which they committed in the churches, surpass all belief. The altars were either destroyed or defiled in the grossest manner; the images of the saints were overthrown; the consecrated wafers either trodden under foot or flung to the dogs. In the country their excesses were still greater than in the towns. Their demands were insatiable, and they showed a peculiar dexterity in extorting the very last penny from their victims.

CHAPTER LX.

PRUSSIA DECLARES WAR AGAINST FRANCE.—PEACE OF TILSIT.

A.D. 1806-7.

WE will now turn for a moment to the affairs of Prussia, which power was about to reap the well-merited reward of her desertion of the German cause. In November, 1797, Frederick William II. died. He had found at his accession a treasure of seventy-two millions of dollars, accumulated by the care of Frederick "the Only," but by his expensive habits and the rapaciousness of his mistress, left at his death a debt of twenty-eight millions. He was succeeded by his son, Frederick William III., then twenty-seven years of age—a prince of a very different character from his father, severe and regular in private life, and, amidst a dissolute court, the pattern of every domestic virtue. The young king, however, was at first guided by his father's favourite minister Haugwitz, the chief author of the temporizing policy of Prussia; and it was some years before he adopted a bolder and more patriotic line of conduct. But gradually, the more generous and manly policy of Baron Hardenberg began to prevail; in which the King of Prussia was confirmed by a visit of the Emperor Alexander of Russia to Berlin in the autumn of 1805, shortly before the battle of Austerlitz. On this occasion the two monarchs entered into a secret convention with the view of erecting a barrier against the encroachments of France. But these designs were for the moment frustrated, and the veteran diplomatist Haugwitz was still to stain the close of his career by an act of the most signal perfidy. In pursuance of the convention just mentioned, he had been despatched to Vienna to declare war against France, and hostilities were to have commenced on the 15th of December. Meanwhile, however, the battle of Austerlitz had been fought, and Austria detached from the coalition. In these circumstances Haugwitz not only refrained from declaring war against Napoleon, which was natural enough, but resolved to secure a share of the spoils of the allies. A few days after the battle of Austerlitz he waited on the French emperor, congratulated him on his success, and proposed a treaty by which Hanover was to be annexed to the Prussian dominions in exchange for some of her southern provinces which were to be ceded to Bavaria

and France. A treaty to that effect was actually signed on the 15th of December, the very day fixed for the commencement of hostilities. But from that moment Napoleon, who was aware of the convention between Prussia and Russia, resolved on the destruction of the former power, whose conduct had inspired him with the greatest contempt, though for a time he dissembled his resentment. England, naturally indignant at this treachery, seized no fewer than 400 Prussian ships, either in her harbours or on the seas.

Meanwhile, however, the Prussian people were smarting under the painful consciousness of their degradation; and this feeling was continually embittered by the insolent contempt which Napoleon openly manifested for Prussia, and by his incessant encroachments on her rights and territories. An irrepressible spirit of patriotism was at length awakened; on every side was heard the call to arms. This martial spirit was further excited by Prince Louis, and especially by Louisa, the beautiful Queen of Prussia, who, in the uniform of her regiment of hussars, rode at their head through the streets of Berlin. Prussia hastened to conciliate her offended allies, and, having obtained the support of England and Russia, declared war against Napoleon in the autumn of 1806. But her plans were ill digested, and the officers to whom the execution of them was intrusted were for the most part either worn-out veterans acquainted only with the imperfect system of tactics practised in the days of Frederick the Great, or mere martinets, who had seen little service beyond that of appearing daily on parade in buckskin breeches, with stiff leather stocks, powdered heads, and enormous *queues*. The result of this ill-advised attempt was what might have been anticipated. The commander-in-chief Ferdinand Duke of Brunswick, a veteran of seventy-two, was utterly routed at Auerstädt by Marshal Davoust on the 14th of October; and on the same day another army under the Prince of Hohenlohe was attacked near Jena by Napoleon in person, and compelled to fly in disorder, leaving behind them all their artillery, colours, and baggage. The Duke of Brunswick himself, who had been severely wounded early in the day, was carried in a litter to his palace, which he found deserted. "God help me," said the poor old man: "I leave all and all have left me." He then addressed a touching letter to Napoleon, imploring his protection; but the stern conqueror replied that he knew no reigning Duke of Brunswick: he was acquainted only with a cer-

tain General Brunswick, who had declared in the year 1792 that he would destroy Paris, and who richly deserved every misfortune that might befall him. The wounded prince, on receiving this heartless answer, caused himself to be conveyed to Ottensen, in the Danish territory, where death soon put an end to his sufferings. Blücher, who had commanded the Prussian cavalry in the battle of Jena, fled towards Lübeck, where he was again defeated in a bloody engagement under the walls of the town, and 4000 of his men made prisoners. He then continued his flight to the sea-coast, but, finding no means provided for the embarkation of his remaining troops, the indignant veteran surrendered to the French, and was soon afterwards exchanged for Marshal Victor. Ten days after the battle of Jena Napoleon made his triumphal entry into Berlin.* As no measures had been adopted for its defence, the arsenal with 500 pieces of cannon and all the stores of ammunition fell at once into his hands. The principal citizens of Berlin seemed to glory in their shame. Wherever a crowd was collected to witness the arrival of the French, well-dressed persons were seen gliding from one group to another, and whispering in the ears of the people, "Shout 'Vive l'Empereur!' or we are all lost." And even when the French Commandant Hulin, willing to spare their feelings, directed that the disarming should take place with as little publicity as possible, the magistrates caused it to be proclaimed by the voice of a common crier, that each citizen, on pain of death, should bring his weapons openly to the town-hall. The common people, on their part, exhibited a heartless indifference to the fate of their country, which called forth many expressions of disgust from the high-minded and patriotic French officers. One fellow, who had volunteered his services as guide to the place where the public stores of wood were deposited, was contemptuously told by the general that he had better keep the wood to make a gallows for himself and the other rascals who had betrayed their king. Even the conqueror, greedy as he was of victory, was so astonished at this inglorious triumph, that he remarked to some of his officers, "I hardly know whether I ought to rejoice or be ashamed of myself." At

* It was from this city that Napoleon, on the 21st November, 1806, issued his famous decree, by which England was declared in a state of blockade, and all British produce excluded from the continental states. A similar decree was issued from Milan, on the 17th December, 1807, and subsequently large quantities of English goods were burnt at Hamburg, Amsterdam, and other places.

the head of his staff, bare-headed and in full uniform, Napoleon visited the apartment and grave of Frederick the Great, and took possession of his sword, a treasure more valuable (as the pompous bulletin of the following day announced) than twenty millions of dollars. But whilst he thus manifested his admiration of the illustrious dead, the characters of the reigning monarch and his queen were daily assailed in proclamations teeming with the most base and unmanly falsehoods. In the seventeenth of these bulletins, which seems to have been one of the most rabid, he ridiculed an engraving which represented the king and queen standing with the Emperor Alexander at the grave of Frederick the Great. "The shade of the great Frederick," it proceeded, "must have revolted at this alliance with Russia. His spirit, his genius, his wishes belonged to that nation (the French) which he valued so highly, and of which he was wont to say that, were he its king, not a cannon should be fired in Europe without his permission."

After the capture of Berlin the Prussian fortresses fell one after another into the hands of the French; partly because they had really not been put in a proper posture of defence, but, for the most part, because they were commanded by traitors and cowards. Amidst this universal prostration, Ferdinand von Schill, a Prussian lieutenant who had been wounded at Jena, distinguished himself by his patriotic spirit in organising a corps of volunteers, who did the French much damage. A natural consequence of the advance of the French was the loss of the Prussian dominions in Poland. The Poles received the French with open arms as their deliverers. After the defeat of Jena, the King of Prussia retired to Königsberg, where he was joined by a Russian army under General Benningsen, accompanied by the Emperor Alexander in person. The allied army gained a victory over Marshal Ney at Eylau; but on the 14th of June, 1807, the anniversary of Marengo, Napoleon completely defeated them at Friedland.

Thus the French army had marched from the Rhine to the Vistula with scarcely a single check. They captured 350 standards, 4000 guns, and 80,000 men; and overturned at one blow the renowned monarchy of Frederick the Great.

On the 9th of July, 1807, the allied sovereigns concluded a treaty of peace with Napoleon at Tilsit on the Niemen: Frederick William consenting to cede the half of his dominions with

5,000,000 of inhabitants, reduce his military establishment to 42,000 men, and pay an indemnification of 140,000,000 of francs to the French. Hanover, Brunswick, Hesse-Cassel, and the Prussian dominions on the left bank of the Elbe were united into a kingdom, called the kingdom of Westphalia, and given to Napoleon's brother Jerome. The Elector of Saxony, who had declared himself neutral three days after the battle of Jena, and soon afterwards became an ally of France, was also raised to the dignity of king, and rewarded with the grand duchy of Warsaw, which comprised the whole of Prussian Poland. Having made these dispositions Napoleon returned in triumph to Paris, bearing with him the sword of Frederick the Great, and the car with its bronze horses which had ornamented the Brandenburg gate of Berlin.*

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER LX.

Scene at the tomb of Frederick the Great.—The convention between the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Russia, mentioned in the preceding chapter, was followed by a scene as remarkable as it was romantic, and which was ultimately attended by consequences of the highest importance to the destinies of Europe. When they signed it, both were fully aware of the perilous nature of the enterprise on which they were adventuring, as the Archduke Anthony had arrived two days before with detailed accounts of the disastrous result of the combats around Ulm. Inspired with a full sense of the dangers of the war, the ardent and chivalrous mind of the Queen of Prussia conceived the idea of uniting the two sovereigns by a bond more likely to be durable than the mere alliances of cabinets. This was to bring them together at the tomb of the great Frederick, where, it was hoped, the solemnity and the recollections of the scene would powerfully contribute to cement their union. The emperor, who was desirous of visiting the mausoleum of that illustrious hero, accordingly repaired to the church of the garrison of Potsdam, where his remains are deposited, and at midnight the two monarchs proceeded together by torchlight to the hallowed grave. Uncovering when he approached the spot, the emperor kissed the pall, and taking the hand of the King of Prussia as it lay on the tomb, they

* Two bridges were erected at Paris in commemoration of the victories of Jena and Austerlitz.

swore an eternal friendship to each other, and bound themselves by the most solemn oaths to maintain their engagements inviolate in the great contest for European independence in which they were engaged. A few hours after Alexander departed for Galicia, to assume in person the command of the army of reserve, which was advancing through that province to the support of Kutusoff. Such was the origin of that great alliance which, though often interrupted by misfortune, and deeply checkered with disaster, was yet destined to be brought to so triumphant an issue, and ultimately wrought such wonders for the deliverance of Europe.*

Murder of Palm, the bookseller.—Just previously to the breaking out of the war between France and Prussia, Napoleon committed a most atrocious and tyrannical act by the seizure and execution of Palm, a bookseller of Nuremberg. He had circulated a celebrated patriotic pamphlet by Gentz and another by Arndt, called 'The Spirit of the Age,' in which resistance to French aggression was indeed strongly inculcated, but not by any base or illegal means. Palm was dragged before a tribunal of French military officers at Brannau; and in consequence of his magnanimous refusal to betray the authors of the offensive publications, was ordered to be shot. This inhuman sentence, which was immediately carried into execution, awakened the profoundest indignation throughout Germany.

* Alison's *History of Europe*, chap. xl.

CHAPTER LXI.

WAR WITH FRANCE.—PEACE OF VIENNA.

From A.D. 1809 to 1812.



Statue of Andrew Hofer.

THE example of Spain* had taught Francis how much might be effected by the swords of a united people; and awakened a hope that the nations of Germany, now thoroughly weary of the French yoke (the Romanist portion of them being moreover disgusted at the insults offered by Napoleon to the Holy Father

* In the spring of 1808 the Spanish people, irritated by the tyranny of the French at Madrid, declared war against France, and implored the assistance of England. In consequence of this request a force was sent out under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley. After a long and severe struggle, both in Spain and Portugal, the French were driven out of the peninsula by the Duke of Wellington, who entered France on the 13th of October, 1813.

of their church),* would respond cordially to the summons of Austria. Advantage was therefore taken of Napoleon's absence in Spain to call out the whole force of the empire, amounting to 400,000 men. The Archduke Charles, although opposed to the war, on the grounds that Prussia had not yet been gained over, nor the other nations of Germany withdrawn from the French alliance, was too good a patriot to refuse his services, and accepted the command of a force destined to act on the right bank of the Rhine, whilst John marched into Italy and Ferdinand into Poland. The advice of Charles (as soon as he became aware that war was inevitable) had been to march an army rapidly to the Main and Weser instead of lingering in Bavaria, where their ancient jealousy of Austria would probably neutralize the desire of the people to shake off a foreign yoke. But the cabinet of Vienna thought otherwise, and addressed the following proclamation to the Bavarians:—"You are beginning to discover that we are Germans as well as yourselves, and that nothing but united exertions can restore to Germany her former supremacy. Be then again what you once were, *honest* Germans. What have you gained, Bavarian yeomen and citizens, by your union with France? Your prince has indeed the title of king, and a few square miles have been added to his territory; but do you pay fewer taxes, or enjoy greater security of person and property?" The Archduke Charles also issued a manifesto, addressed to the whole German nation; and anonymous publications, breathing defiance to their foreign tyrants, were extensively circulated among the people in each of the states. "Austria," such was the spirited language of one of their publications, "Austria saw (and every German heart bled at the sight), she saw you sunk to such a depth of degradation, as to submit like vassals to the laws of a foreign monarch, and behold your sons dragged into the field to fight against their brethren. Germans! Austria calls on you to raise your degraded heads and burst your chains. How long shall Herman mourn over his degenerate descendants? Was it for this the Cherusci fought and conquered in the Teutoburgian forest? Does the clank of your fetters sound pleasantly in your ears? Awake, Germans! Awake from this death-slumber of infamy. Let not your name be the byword of generations yet unborn." Unhappily the movements of Aus-

* Pius VII., after enduring a series of insults in his own capital, had been carried off to Paris, where he was detained as a prisoner of state.

tria were so slow as to allow Napoleon time to return from Spain into Germany and place himself at the head of the Rhenish confederacy. "I come not," he said, "as Emperor of France—I stand here as the protector of your land and of the German league. Not a French soldier is among us. Alone you shall beat the enemy." In the month of April, 1809, Napoleon five times defeated the Austrians, and advancing on Vienna, took possession of the suburbs without opposition. A few shot fired from the ramparts of the city were answered by a terrible discharge of shells, some of which fell into the citadel, where the Emperor's daughter, Maria Louisa, lay on a sick bed.* The Austrian standard was immediately lowered, and Napoleon entered Vienna in triumph. The Archduke Charles now returned by forced marches from Bohemia, and drew up his army on the other side of the Danube, which Napoleon crossed by a bridge of boats: and on the 21st and 22nd May a terrible engagement was fought on the plain between Aspern and Esslingen, close to the spot where Ottocar of Bohemia was defeated by the Emperor Rudolph. For the first time Napoleon was completely overthrown, and compelled to seek refuge on the island of Löbau, which lies midway between the two banks. Here he found that the swollen stream of the Danube, aided by some heavily-laden boats which the Archduke had launched into the river, had broken down the only bridge. Had the Archduke now followed up his victory and attacked Napoleon on the island, the whole French army would probably have been annihilated; but with true Austrian sluggishness Charles lingered to count the dead on the field of battle; and the French being suffered to construct a new bridge without molestation, recrossed the river and returned to Vienna. Napoleon, having obtained reinforcements from Würtemberg, Bavaria, Saxony, and Italy, again crossed the Danube and attacked the Archduke Charles near Wagram, within sight of the towers of Vienna, which were crowded with anxious spectators. The battle lasted throughout the whole of two days (July 5th and 6th), and ended in the defeat of the Austrians. On the 12th an armistice was concluded preparatory to a treaty of peace, which was signed at Vienna on the 10th of the following October, Austria ceding Salzburg to Bavaria, Dalmatia and her remaining Italian possessions to Napoleon, and the greater part of her Polish

* Napoleon, however, when informed of this circumstance, ordered the direction of the pieces to be changed.

dominions to Russia and the Grand Duke of Warsaw. Soon after the conclusion of this peace an attempt was made to assassinate Napoleon by a young man named Frederick Stabbs, who was arrested before he could effect his purpose, and brought into the imperial presence. So far from denying his guilt, he declared that if he were set at liberty he would make the attempt again. On hearing this bold avowal the Emperor immediately commanded him to be shot. On the 2nd April, 1810, Napoleon, who had previously divorced the Empress Josephine, married the Archduchess Maria Louisa of Austria.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER LXI.

Rising of the Tyrolese—Andrew Hofer.—The lofty mountains of Tyrol had been for centuries the dwelling-place of liberty. Subject in name to the house of Habsburg, their inhabitants enjoyed nevertheless the full exercise of their republican privileges, choosing their own magistrates, and contributing to the imperial army a contingent of troops, commanded by officers of their own election, and clothed and disciplined according to the ancient fashion of their country. In return for these indulgences the sturdy mountaineers served their Emperor with the most devoted fidelity; and great was their dismay when they learnt, in the year 1805, that Francis had ceded their country to the King of Bavaria. One of the first acts of their new sovereign was to overthrow their constitution and suppress their representative assembly. New and oppressive taxes were imposed and levied with rigour; the religious observances of the people were interfered with, the convents and monasteries were confiscated, and the plate of the churches melted down. If we add to these causes of disaffection the disgust occasioned by an attempt on the part of the King to change the name of their country to that of "South Bavaria," and by the sale of the ancient castle of Tyrol (the possessor of which, according to a time-honoured prophecy, was alone entitled to the obedience of his countrymen), we shall scarcely wonder that when Austria again raised her standard she relied with confidence on the co-operation of her ancient vassal. The patriotic feelings of the German people had already been fully roused, when, in the winter of 1808, there arrived at Vienna a deputation headed by one Andrew Hofer, a wealthy peasant and innkeeper of the Tyrol, who had long enjoyed the

confidence of his countrymen. After a very short discussion (for the delegates had ample discretionary powers, and Austria was as ready to receive as they to offer their services) a treaty was signed, in which the Tyrolese pledged themselves to rise against their Bavarian masters; Austria on her part engaging to assist them with a considerable force as soon as information of the insurrection should reach Vienna. Hofer then returned to the Tyrol and announced to his brethren in a few emphatic words that they might rely on the co-operation of the Austrians. It was at the same time resolved that the insurrection should not take place until the spring, when the melting of the snow would render communication easier between the different districts. So secret was this arrangement kept, that, although many thousand Tyrolese were aware of the intended movement, no suspicion seems to have entered the mind either of the Bavarian general Kinkel or his French colleague Brisson. On the night of the 9th of April, 1809, a small red flag, the signal agreed on by the confederates, was seen floating down the stream of the Inn, and, as it passed, the tocsin rang out in the different villages, and salvos of artillery and signal-fires on the heights announced to the Tyrolese that the hour of their deliverance was come. No alteration had been made in the simple tactics of mountain warfare since the memorable defeat of Nouvion and his Bavarians more than a hundred years before. Huge stones, fragments of rocks, and trunks of trees were collected together on the edges of defiles through which the French and Bavarian armies were expected to pass. As soon as the enemy was fairly entangled in the ravine, one of the Tyrolese called out to his comrades to cut all loose in the name of the Holy Trinity, and the whole mass came crashing down into the valley below, whilst at the same moment marksmen, stationed wherever they could find a shelter, poured in a destructive fire from their unerring rifles; until at last the miserable remnant, bewildered and hopeless of rescue, surrendered at discretion to Andrew Hofer and his colleagues Spechbacher and Kemnater. Of the allied Bavarian and French army, 8000 men, more than 100 officers, and all their artillery, baggage, and ammunition, fell into the hands of the Tyrolese, who treated their prisoners with humanity, except in one instance, where a tax-gatherer, who had been heard to boast that he would drain the Tyrolese until they should be obliged to feed on hay, was punished for his rapacity by being compelled to dine on a bundle of chopped

straw. Meanwhile Austria, dispirited by the defeat which she had sustained at Wagram, and fearing for the safety of her capital, had recalled General Chastelar from the Tyrol; and Lefebvre, at the head of a formidable body of French troops, was advancing on Innsbruck almost without interruption: for the Tyrolese, abandoned by those who ought to have protected them, and well nigh hopeless of relief, seemed inclined to render a sort of sullen obedience to the commands of their former masters. But at last, irritated beyond endurance by the cruelties of the French, they sought out Andrew Hofer (who had retired in disgust to the mountains), and again prepared for resistance, constructing cannon of larch-wood bound with hoops of iron, and laying masses of rock on the edge of precipices to be hurled down on their enemies. After sustaining several defeats Lefebvre evacuated the Tyrol, and the reins of government were assumed by Hofer at Innsbruck, whilst his colleague Spechbacher guarded the frontier against any fresh invasion. But in the meantime peace had been concluded between France and Austria, and the Tyrolese, at the earnest solicitation of the Archduke John, consented to lay down their arms. Shortly afterwards Hofer, deceived by false intelligence, again raised his standard; but the spirit of the Tyrolese was broken, and, finding it impossible to rally them, he abandoned the attempt in despair, and took refuge in a solitary mountain hut amongst the snowy fastnesses of the Alps. To this place provisions were conveyed by his wife and a few of his most trusted friends; and so implicit was Hofer's confidence in the honour of his countrymen that when he was repeatedly urged to seek a more secure asylum, he only replied, "I cannot be in a safer place, for I am sure no Tyrolese will betray me." Unfortunately this confidence was abused by a wretch named Steffel; and before daybreak on the morning of the 30th of January, 1810, the clashing of French bayonets near the hut announced to Hofer and his young son (who had accompanied him in his flight) that the place of their retreat was discovered. Hofer himself opened the door, and being asked who he was, replied in a firm tone, "I am Andrew Hofer; my life is in your hands—spare my wife and children." He was then conveyed in chains to Botzen, and subsequently to Mantua, where the military commission assembled to try him decided by a plurality of voices against inflicting the punishment of death, two of the members voting for his absolute acquittal. But scarcely had this verdict been declared

when a telegraphic communication was received from Milan commanding that execution should be done on the body of Andrew Hofer within twenty-four hours. Accordingly on the 20th of February, at eleven o'clock in the morning, the *générale* was beaten, and a party of grenadiers led out the Tyrolese patriot from his prison to the rampart, where the sentence of death was to be carried into execution. As the melancholy procession passed through the streets of Mantua many Tyrolese fell down on their knees before Hofer and implored his blessing, whilst from the windows of the prison, where others of his countrymen were confined, were heard groans and exclamations of the deepest sorrow. On reaching the place of execution twelve grenadiers were drawn up in front of the prisoner, and a white handkerchief put into his hands, with which he was required to give the signal, it being at the same time intimated to him that it was necessary he should place himself on his knees. But this the stout-hearted sufferer peremptorily refused. "I stand," he said, "in the presence of my Creator, and standing I will render back my spirit to God who gave it. Fire!" The first six shots wounded him but slightly. Dropping on his knees he received the remaining six, and was still struggling convulsively when a corporal, discharging a pistol close to his head, put an end to his sufferings. The body then was placed on a bier covered with black, and conveyed with every mark of respect to the church of St. Michael, where a guard of grenadiers watched it until it was laid in the grave.

CHAPTER LXII.

PRUSSIA FROM 1806 TO 1812.—REFORMS.—REVIVAL OF THE PATRIOTIC SPIRIT.

THE deep, but not undeserved, humiliation of Prussia was destined to regenerate her. Misfortune was to her a school of virtue. Von Stein, a true patriot and an able statesman, was now intrusted with the administration, whilst the military affairs of the kingdom were superintended by two distinguished generals, Gneisenau and Scharnhorst. Great reforms were introduced in the dress and discipline of the army. The ill conduct of the Prussian nobility during the war induced the king to deprive them of the exclusive right of holding military commands. This step was accompanied by corresponding civil reforms. The privileges of possessing landed property and of filling civil offices, hitherto exclusively enjoyed by the nobles, were also extended to the commonalty. Serfdom was abolished, and towns were endowed with municipal rights. On the other hand, the nobility were permitted to enter into trade. These reforms were the work of Stein in the year 1808.

It was to the same minister that the secret society called the "Tugendbund," or League of Virtue, owed its origin; the object of which was to rouse the Germans to a general resistance against the French. This came to the knowledge of Napoleon, who dictated the dismissal of Stein; but his successor, Hardenberg, pursued his anti-Gallican policy. The league was joined by numerous statesmen, officers, and learned men. The whole nation was secretly but efficiently preparing for a future struggle. Scharnhorst was busy in raising soldiers, and, as the country was not permitted to levy above a certain number of men, he kept continually changing those who had been thoroughly drilled with fresh recruits; so that, in case of necessity, a large force could at once be put on foot. The Austrian campaign of 1809 excited fresh hopes in Prussia; but she was not yet prepared for open war. In the north, however, Schill, at the head of his volunteers, was rapidly organising a patriot army, when the advance of the united Danish and Dutch forces compelled him to take refuge in the town of Stralsund. After a desperate struggle against overwhelming numbers, the little band of patriots was cut to pieces,

and their leader's head severed from his body and sent to the museum at Leyden, where it was exhibited for many years. Another hero, the Duke of Brunswick, son of the unfortunate Ferdinand, raised a corps of 2000 men, with which he endeavoured to reconquer his dominions; but, failing in the attempt, marched to the mouth of the Weser, and embarked for England. In the month of August the English landed an army of 40,000 men, under the command of Lord Chatham, on the island of Walcheren, for the purpose of effecting a diversion in Holland; but sickness thinned the ranks so fearfully that they were soon compelled to re-embark.

Napoleon now ruled for a short time as the sole despot of the greater part of Europe. In 1810 he annexed Holland, which he designated as a mere alluvium of French rivers, to France. He also seized a considerable portion of the northern coast of Germany, under the pretence that it violated the continental system by encouraging smuggling. He caused all English goods, even though actually paid for by their foreign owners, to be seized and burnt in the public squares of Amsterdam, Hamburg, and other towns. He endeavoured to convert the Germans and Dutch into Frenchmen. In Holland French was directed to be taught in all the schools, and all public instruments to be in that language as well as in Dutch. Napoleon's son, Napoleon Francis, born in 1811, was immediately named King of Rome, to indicate that he would inherit the Roman empire of the world. But symptoms of his approaching fall were already beginning to appear. In Spain his arms were unsuccessful. Sweden and Russia renounced the continental system and allied themselves with England. Intoxicated with his success and power, Napoleon now resolved on that last stroke which proved his ruin. In the dreams of his overweening and boundless ambition, the conquest of Russia promised to open up the way to Asia, and prepare the subjugation of another continent. He seized the occasion of her joining England to declare war against that power. In the spring of 1812 he prepared to march against her with an army of half a million men, to which the German states were compelled to contribute large contingents. His stay at Dresden, on his march towards the Russian frontiers, was the culminating point of his extraordinary grandeur. He was accompanied here by his consort, the Empress Maria Louisa, and met by the Emperor of Austria and King of Prussia. The theatres of Paris were transferred to

Dresden, and the time was spent in a series of magnificent fêtes and pageants. Napoleon occupied the principal apartments in the King of Saxony's palace; kings waited in his ante-chamber, queens attended on his empress; diamonds, snuff-boxes, orders were distributed with eastern magnificence among the princes and courtiers who crowded round his throne. But such was the insolent pride of his behaviour that it stung to the quick even those who were best inclined towards him.

It does not belong to our subject to narrate Napoleon's fatal campaign in Russia. Suffice it to say that, owing to the late season of the year in which it was commenced, to the stratagem of the Russians in retreating, and thus drawing the French army far into the interior of their inhospitable country, to the unexpected burning of Moscow, where Napoleon intended to establish his head-quarters, and to his long and disastrous retreat during a Russian winter of unparalleled severity, his magnificent army was nearly annihilated. Of that almost countless host less than 20,000 are said to have regained the French territory. This disaster led to the successful rising of the Germans, which will be related in the next chapter.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER LXII.

The "Tugendbund," or League of Virtue.—Although the Tugendbund numbered in its ranks such statesmen as Stein and Hardenberg, and soldiers like Gneisenau, Scharnhorst, Schill, and others, it was the literary men of Germany, and especially the professors and students of the universities (*Burschenschaft*), who chiefly contributed to propagate its principles. Professors Jahn of Berlin, and Steffens of Halle and Breslau (by birth a Dane), particularly distinguished themselves in this way. The former revived the use of gymnastics among his pupils, with the view of improving both their bodily strength and moral courage, and thus steeling them for the approaching contest. Among other eccentric modes which he adopted to inspire them with a feeling of hatred towards the French, and an ardent longing for the emancipation of their fatherland, he used to ask the younger students, as they rode with him out of the Brandenburg gate, what they were thinking of at that moment. The boys, confused by the abruptness of the question, generally replied that they were

thinking of nothing. "Well then," said the professor, giving each of them a box on the ear, "I will give you something to think about. Whenever you pass this gate think of the four fair horses which once stood there,* and devise how we may get them back from those rascally Frenchmen." Professor Steffens was the first to rouse the students of Breslau to arm, for which he received a letter of thanks from the King of Prussia. He himself, throwing off the professor's gown, put on a uniform; and has given us in his *Memoirs* an amusing account of his proceedings in the novel occupation of campaigning.† The popular songs of Arndt, which were sung with enthusiasm wherever the German tongue was spoken, powerfully contributed to revive that spirit of brotherhood and patriotism which at last led the Germans to make common cause in the defence of their country. The most spirit-stirring of all was the well-known song, "Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?" Another highly popular patriotic poet of the day was the youthful Charles Theodore Körner, author of the celebrated "Song of the Sword." It was at this time that, chiefly through the exertions of William von Humboldt, the brother of the celebrated philosopher and traveller, the university of Halle was transferred to Berlin, and that of Frankfort on the Oder to Breslau, and formed fresh points of intellectual reanimation for Prussia. Even in Austria it was sought to rouse the spirit of the people by reviving the recollections of the middle ages and of the former glories of the empire. Frederick Schlegel and other literary men assisted in giving this direction to the popular mind, and the *Nibelungen*, the lays of the *Minnesänger*, and the ancient chronicles, were read with avidity.

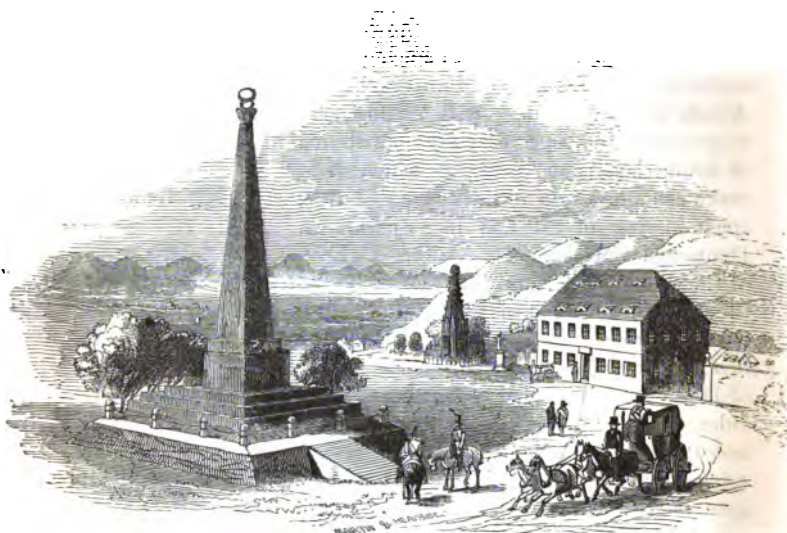
* See above, p. 419.

† See Murray's *Home and Colonial Library*, No. LIX.

CHAPTER LXIII.

LIBERATION OF GERMANY.

A.D. 1813.



The Battle-Field of Culm, near Töplitz.—Austrian and Prussian Monuments.

ON their retreat from Moscow, the French threw themselves into Dantzic and other Prussian fortresses which they held under the treaty of Tilsit. General von York, who commanded the Prussian contingent of the French army of invasion, being surrounded by the Russians under Diebitch, capitulated, or rather went over to the Russians. This act at first occasioned the King of Prussia great perplexity, who was deliberating between honour and the ties of treaties on the one hand, and the calls of patriotism and revenge on the other. York's capitulation was at first disowned, and he himself deprived of his command; but he subsequently played an important part in the war of liberation. On the advance of the Russians, Berlin and the whole right bank of the Elbe were abandoned by the French, under Eugene Beauharnais, who threw themselves into Wittenberg, Magdeburg, and Ham-

burg. Before the end of January, Frederick William II. abandoned his capital and proceeded to Breslau; and on the 1st of March concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the Emperor of Russia at Kalisch. No sooner was this step taken than England, even before the formal resumption of diplomatic relations with Prussia, forwarded an immense supply of arms and warlike stores to the Elbe, whence they were distributed through the Prussian dominions; and subsequently concluded a formal alliance by which she agreed to furnish large subsidies to Russia, Prussia, and Sweden, for the purpose of carrying on the war. Meanwhile the attitude assumed by Austria was that of an armed mediator, for which purpose she added 70,000 men to her troops of the line.

Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm with which the Prussians prepared for the impending contest. The effects of the Tugendbund were everywhere visible. In order to cherish this patriotic feeling, Frederick William established a new order, that of the "Iron Cross." At the same time families were invited to pour their gold and silver plate and ornaments into the treasury, for which they received copies wrought in iron with the inscription—"I gave gold for iron, 1813." This was the origin of the Berlin iron ornaments, now so well known throughout Europe. Volunteers enlisted on every side. In a short time 200,000 Prussians were under arms. On the other hand, Napoleon pressed his preparations with the greatest vigour. He obtained a vote for a conscription of 350,000 men, and the Rhenish confederation was forced to furnish contingents. But the new levies were for the most part mere boys, totally raw and inexperienced. The bones of Napoleon's best troops lay whitening on the plains of Russia and Poland.

The campaign was opened by the Russians under Wittgenstein, who with 17,000 men arrested at Möckern, near Magdeburg, Eugene Beauharnais with 40,000 French, who was pressing on towards Berlin. Wittgenstein then crossed the Elbe at Dessau, in order to form a junction with the Russian and Prussian army under Blücher, concentrated near Lützen, to the west of Leipsic, with the view of preventing Napoleon, now advancing from Erfurt, from forming a junction with Eugene Beauharnais' corps. Here a battle ensued on the 2nd of May, almost on the same spot where Gustavus Adolphus had fallen about two centuries before. The French placed a guard round the tomb of that hero on the night

before the battle, in order to preserve the trees which surround it from destruction. The allies, who were in less force than the French, but superior in cavalry and in the quality of their troops, were after a desperate struggle compelled to retreat. They fell back upon Dresden, but immediately evacuated that town, and took post at Bautzen, about 30 or 40 English miles on its eastern side, on the road to Silesia, where a strongly intrenched position had been prepared. At Dresden Napoleon was joined by the King of Saxony, who had hitherto been wavering, but now threw his weight on the side of the French emperor. This was of great assistance to the latter. It added at once 14,000 men to his army, and secured to him Dresden and the neighbouring fortresses on the Elbe. On the 21st of May was fought the battle of Bautzen, by which the allies, commanded by the Russian Emperor Alexander in person, were, after a formidable resistance, again compelled to retreat, but slowly and in good order. They retired to Liegnitz in Silesia, a position which would afford them an opportunity of joining the Austrian forces in Bohemia, should that power be induced to declare in favour of the allies.

Both sides, exhausted by the struggle, were now anxiously awaiting the decision of Austria; and on the 4th of June an armistice of six weeks was agreed on at Pleissnitz. This step has been pronounced the greatest political fault ever committed by Napoleon. By assenting to the armistice he openly recognised the influence of Austria in settling the campaign. The turn of events had now placed that power in a most commanding position. For whichever side she declared, her weight would turn the scale. Her determination was long doubtful. Napoleon seems in some degree to have reckoned on his family connexion with the Austrian court; and even the allies at first considered that that circumstance would determine the question. The struggle was now transferred from the field to the cabinet. The Austrian counsels were then directed by Prince Metternich, one of the ablest diplomatists that Europe has ever seen, who was prepared to turn the crisis to the greatest advantage. Towards the end of June an interview took place between him and Napoleon at Dresden, in which he plainly told the latter that the time was come when Austria could no longer remain neutral, but must declare either for or against him. The conditions attached to the former alternative were, however, so extravagant that Napoleon rejected them with the greatest marks of anger. The final result

of the interview was that a congress should meet at Prague for the purpose of arranging the terms of a general pacification, and that meanwhile Austria should procure a prolongation of the armistice till the 10th of August. The congress of Prague was, however, little more than a pretence for gaining time. The news of the decisive victory gained by Lord Wellington at Vittoria, and consequent ruin of the French power in Spain, came very opportunely to determine in favour of the allies the inclination of the Austrian cabinet, which already verged that way. Napoleon speedily perceived that he could no longer reckon on peace, and employed himself in preparing for the approaching struggle. Dresden, which he intended to be the head-quarters of his operations on the Elbe, was strengthened, and five redoubts constructed in front of the town. Hamburg was fortified, and immense contributions levied on its inhabitants. Between that town and Dresden the French held the whole line of the Elbe, by means of the fortresses of Magdeburg, Wittenberg, Torgau, and Königsstein. Erfurt, which lay in their rear and secured their communication with France, was likewise put in a strong posture of defence. Napoleon himself took up his quarters at Dresden, where he would be in the centre of the enemy, who on the east stretched from Berlin to Prague in a vast semicircle around him. All his forces had now been brought up, and consisted of 400,000 men with 1250 pieces of artillery. But many of his officers considered the line of the Elbe untenable, and were for falling back on the Saale, or even on the Rhine. Meanwhile the allies, now secretly joined by Austria, were concentrating a large force in Bohemia. On the 7th of August Metternich transmitted to Napoleon the ultimatum of the Austrian cabinet, which was—the dissolution of the grand duchy of Warsaw, which was to be divided between Austria, Russia, and Prussia; the restoration of the independence of Hamburg and the Hanse Towns; the reinstatement of Prussia in its ancient possessions, with a frontier on the Elbe; and the cession of all the Illyrian provinces, including Trieste, to Austria.* Napoleon having rejected these terms, and the armistice having expired, Austria formally declared war against Napoleon on the 12th of August. She had already gained time to bring up all the forces of her extensive empire; and the manner in which Metternich had proceeded from

* Alison, chap. lxxix.

alliance with France to neutrality, thence to armed mediation, and lastly to an offensive alliance against her, was an acknowledged masterpiece of diplomacy.

Meanwhile Bernadotte, a French general of high reputation, whom the Swedes had lately elected to be their Crown Prince, landed in North Germany with an army of 24,000 men, which was soon augmented to 150,000 by the crowds of Russians and Prussians who were placed under his command. General Blücher commanded the army of Silesia, composed of 90,000 Russians and Prussians. The grand army of the allies was stationed in Bohemia under the Prince of Schwartzemberg. Napoleon, with his accustomed promptitude, resolved to surprise and cut off these armies one by one, and with that view marched in person into Silesia, well knowing that it was not Blücher's habit to reckon the number of his enemies, when battle was offered. But the crafty veteran, fully aware of his intention, for the first time in his life avoided an engagement. Meanwhile Marshal Oudinot had been ordered to march with 80,000 men on Berlin, which was now in the hands of the Crown Prince of Sweden: and so confident was Napoleon of success, that he issued bulletins, announcing that Oudinot would enter the city on the 23rd of August. On the 22nd the army halted at the village of Gross-Beeren, about two German miles from Berlin, and the French soldiers were looking forward with exultation to the triumph of the morrow; when in the middle of the night, which happened to be unusually wet and stormy, their bivouac was attacked by a considerable force under the Prussian General Bülow. Panic-struck by the suddenness of this attack, and the fury of the Prussian soldiers (for when their powder was so wetted by the rain that they could no longer fire, they dashed out the brains of the French with the butt-ends of their muskets), the enemy commenced a disorderly retreat towards the Elbe, leaving twenty-six pieces of cannon and several thousand prisoners in the hands of Bülow. Having received intelligence that the grand army of the allies was advancing on Dresden, Napoleon quitted Silesia, leaving behind him an army of 80,000 men under Marshal Macdonald, who found himself in presence of Blücher on the 26th of August. A small stream called the Katzbach [*cat's brook*], now considerably swollen by the heavy rains, separated the two armies. Blücher allowed the first division of the French to cross the brook without interruption; and then shouting out to his men, "There

are enough of them now, my lads,—Forwards!”* attacked the enemy with such fury, that in a very short time they were utterly routed, with the loss of 18,000 prisoners, forty pieces of cannon, and two eagles. On the evening of the same day Napoleon repulsed an attack of the army of Bohemia on Dresden, and on the 27th, strengthened by the addition of his guards, who had arrived by forced marches from Silesia, and crossed the bridge of Dresden during the night, he determined to attack the allies on the plain which lies to the S.E. of that city. Murat, King of Naples, under cover of a deluge of rain, charged the left wing of the Austrians, in which were several newly-raised regiments, so fiercely, that the raw recruits threw down their arms, and the whole wing in consequence fell into such confusion, that 12,000 men and the general himself were made prisoners. The whole army of the allies then retreated in tolerable order towards the mountains of Bohemia. Moreau, the victor of Hohenlinden, who had been allowed to go into exile in America, in consequence of his opposition to Napoleon’s assumption of the imperial crown, but who had now returned and accepted a command in the army of the allies, had his thigh shattered by a cannon-ball, as he stood by the side of the Emperor Alexander, on an eminence which overlooked the field, and died a few days afterwards. But the joy of Napoleon for his victory was damped by the arrival of Macdonald with the news that his army of Silesia was annihilated. The grand army of the allies had, as we have seen, retreated towards Bohemia; but there were difficulties yet to be overcome before they could place the mountains of that rugged country between themselves and the enemy. In the pass of Culm, near Töplitz, they found the French General Vandamme ready to dispute their progress; and for many hours the fortune of the day was doubtful, until the Prussian division of General Kleist, taking the enemy in flank, and supported in front by the Austrians and Russians, attacked them with such violence, that they fled in all directions, leaving behind them 10,000 prisoners, among whom were the Generals Vandamme and Haxo. Napoleon now commanded the ablest of his marshals—Ney—to advance on Berlin at the head of 80,000 men, with strict orders to make himself master of the capital, cost what it might. But this attempt, like that of Oudinot, was foiled by the vigilance of

* The word “Forwards” became from that time the battle-cry of the Prussians, who gave their old leader the title of “Marshal Forwards.”

General Bülow, who met the invading army at Dennewitz, and kept them at bay until the Crown Prince of Sweden came up; when the French, giving way before overwhelming numbers, retreated in good order, and, although pursued by 150,000 men, reached Saxony without having sustained any very considerable loss. These disastrous defeats of his generals threw them on Napoleon's centre at Dresden, which the allies were again preparing to surround. Napoleon continued to manœuvre till the beginning of October; but the allies were always on their guard. The country round Dresden was now completely exhausted of provisions. The French army endured the greatest privations, and it was plain that retreat was no longer avoidable. This step was also hastened by the news of the defection of Bavaria. On the 7th of October Napoleon evacuated Dresden, and commenced his retreat towards the Rhine, closely followed by the allies, who appeared on the 16th before the walls of Leipzig, where the Emperor had already taken up his position, resolved to stand the hazard of a general engagement. The city being in the occupation of the French, who were drawn up in a circle around it, the allied army was immediately formed into a crescent, having a single opening towards the south-west, which they intended to fill up on the arrival of the Swedish army under Bernadotte, and the Russian and Austrian divisions of Bennigsen and Colloredo. The allied force amounted to 300,000 men, the French scarcely to two-thirds of that number. The battle began the same day, and so great was the vibration caused by the discharges of artillery (of which at least 1200 pieces were brought into the field), that windows were shivered to atoms in the houses of Leipzig, and the ground shook and reeled as with an earthquake. About mid-day some important advantages had been gained by the French: and Napoleon had already commanded the bells of Leipzig to be rung, dispatched a messenger to Paris with the news of his victory, and sent the Austrian General Meerveldt, who had been taken prisoner early in the day, with proposals of peace to the Emperor of Austria. But the success of Blücher over Marshal Ney on the right wing near the village of Möckern changed the aspect of affairs; and on the 17th Napoleon announced his intention of evacuating Germany, and sued for peace—but no answer was returned to his overtures. On the 18th, at eight o'clock in the morning, the allies, reinforced by the Swedish army, renewed the engagement. Napoleon nobly sustained his

ancient reputation, and for a long time the issue was doubtful ; but when in the very heat of the action he found himself abandoned by the troops of Saxony and Würtemberg, and saw the remnant of his army crushed by the superior weight of the enemy's columns, he deemed it necessary to fall back upon Leipzig, and made preparations for continuing his retreat towards the South. To cover the escape of his imperial guard, and the flower of the French army, a division under Poniatowski was commanded to defend the city, which the Emperor himself did not quit until ten o'clock on the morning of the 19th. Unfortunately the bridge, by which the first division of his army had crossed the Elster, was blown up soon after Napoleon joined them, and 25,000 men were in consequence cut to pieces, taken prisoners by the allies, or drowned in the river. Poniatowski himself, after fighting bravely until the streets of Leipzig were strewn with the bodies of his soldiers, retreated towards the Elster ; and finding the bridge destroyed, attempted to swim his horse across the stream ; but the bank being steep on the other side, the horse in attempting to clear it fell back on his rider, and both were drowned. Soon after mid-day the two Emperors and the King of Prussia entered Leipzig, amidst the acclamations of the grateful citizens. Amongst the numerous prisoners taken was the King of Saxony. The allies lost nearly 47,000 men in this terrible battle ; the loss of the French was upwards of 60,000 in killed and prisoners. Napoleon fled precipitately with the remnant of his army. The Prussians came up with him at Freiberg on the Unstrutt, where a scene ensued somewhat similar to the passage of the Beresina, on the retreat from Moscow. The Prussian artillery played with terrible effect on the masses who pressed towards the river. Napoleon himself was obliged to alight and pass on foot through the throng. At Hanau Napoleon's path was obstructed by General Wrede at the head of the Bavarians. Here the last great battle in Germany was fought (20th October). Napoleon succeeded in forcing his way through the Bavarian army, but with a loss of 7000 men : the Bavarians lost 10,000. On the 1st November Napoleon arrived at Mentz, and began to cross the Rhine. His army then numbered about 70,000 men. In the course of November Germany was completely evacuated by the French, except the garrisons in Dresden and the northern fortresses, in which 100,000 men were shut up, and now completely cut off from their country. One by one these

fortresses were taken or capitulated: several, however, held out till the beginning of the following year; and Magdeburg and Hamburg did not surrender till the war was brought to a close.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER LXIII.

Prince Metternich.—This distinguished statesman and diplomatist was born in the year 1773, at Johannisberg, on the banks of the Rhine, the hereditary seat of his family, which was of ancient and noble descent. He was brought up at Strasburg, and completed his education by travelling in Germany, Holland, and England. He made his first entrance into public life at the congress of Rastadt in 1799. His great abilities, which were accompanied with the most elegant and polished manners, soon attracted the attention of the Austrian court. In the years 1804 and 1805 he was employed in diplomatic missions of importance at the courts of St. Petersburg and Berlin; and after the peace of Presburg, in the latter year, was appointed ambassador at Paris from the court of Austria. He was then only thirty-three years of age, and Napoleon remarked to him, "You are very young to represent so powerful a monarchy." "Your Majesty," replied Metternich, "was not older at Austerlitz." Indeed his conduct at Paris, through all the difficulties of those stormy times, showed him fully equal to the important trust he held, and especially before the breaking out of the war between France and Austria in 1809, when the violent outbursts of Napoleon could not once disturb his cool self-possession, or lead him to betray by the slightest word or gesture the hidden policy which it was then necessary for his court to observe. On his return to Vienna he was appointed to succeed Count Stadion as chancellor of state, and continued for more than thirty years to direct, almost without control, the affairs of Austria. His interview with Napoleon at Dresden during the armistice of Pleissnitz in 1813, alluded to in the preceding chapter, led to a singular scene. His demands on the part of Austria appeared so extravagant to Napoleon that the latter lost all control over his temper. He broke out into a long, loud, and bitter invective against Austria, which he wound up by abruptly turning to the ambassador, and exclaiming as he dashed his hat on the floor, "Ah! Metternich, how much has England given you to play this part against me?" Metternich received

this gross and undeserved insult in dignified silence. Napoleon expected that the ambassador would pick up his hat; but, in spite of his inbred politeness, Metternich never once offered to stoop; and the Emperor, who still continued to pace the room, at length kicked the hat on one side himself. This apparently unimportant incident at once betokened the great change that was approaching in the relations between France and Austria.

Körner.—Charles Theodore Körner was born at Dresden on the 23rd of September, 1791. His father was the intimate associate of Schiller, who composed his tragedy of 'Don Carlos' at a country house belonging to his friend in the pleasant village of Loschwitz, near Dresden. At Vienna Körner obtained a considerable reputation as a writer of dramatic pieces, and had just received the appointment of "imperial theatrical poet," when the Prussian invitation to arm in defence of their Fatherland resounded through the length and breadth of Germany, and found an echo in every heart. He left Vienna on the 13th March, 1813, with letters of recommendation to some of the principal officers in the Prussian army. At Breslau he learnt that Major von Lützow had just announced his intention of raising the celebrated corps which, under the name of Lützow's Black Volunteers, afterwards played so prominent a part in the war of liberation. Such a band, the nucleus of which already numbered several officers of distinction, statesmen, artists, and professional men, presented to Theodore's excited fancy the very *beau idéal* of a patriot army; and without hesitation he joined their ranks. A few days afterwards he was present at the solemn dedication of the corps in a village church near Zobten. "Our choral song being ended," he writes to his father, "the pastor of the village, Peters, delivered a touching discourse which drew tears from every eye. Then he administered to each of us a solemn oath, that in the cause of our Fatherland and of religion we would spare neither blood nor gear, but march cheerfully to victory or to death. The good pastor then fell on his knees and invoked the blessing of God on those who were about to fight in His cause. The oath thus proposed, and sworn on the swords of our officers, was followed by the singing of 'A steadfast fortress is our God,' and so ended our solemnity." Körner had at first enrolled himself in the *tirailleurs*; but the state of inactivity to which that company, in common with other infantry corps, was reduced by the armistice of Pleissnitz, was so insupportable that

he exchanged into the cavalry, where he acted as Major Lützow's adjutant. Whilst engaged in this new service, the life of Theodore had well nigh been sacrificed to French treachery. Napoleon, indignant at the annoyance occasioned by these Prussian volunteers, in intercepting his dispatches and cutting off the supplies of his army, had issued orders that no quarter should be given to a single individual of the corps. In consequence of these orders Lützow, who, relying on the armistice, had chosen the shortest road to join his infantry, was surrounded near the village of Kitzen by a formidable body of French cavalry. Theodore Körner was immediately sent forward to demand the cause of this movement; but the French, instead of returning any answer, charged three squadrons of Lützow's cavalry with such impetuosity, that many of them were cut down before they had time to draw their swords. Of the survivors, some were taken, and others saved themselves by dispersing among the neighbouring villages; whilst Lützow himself, at the head of a considerable number of his men, cut his way through the enemy's ranks and reached the right bank of the Elbe in safety. Körner, who, in obedience to the orders of his commander, had advanced to meet the French without drawing his sword, received a severe sabre wound, which made him reel in the saddle; but rallying a little he recovered his seat, and setting spurs to his horse took shelter in a neighbouring wood. Here he was engaged, with the assistance of some of his comrades, in staunching the blood, which flowed profusely from the wound, when a division of the enemy was seen advancing rapidly towards his place of concealment. Yet even in this moment of terrible suspense Körner was not wanting to himself. Turning his eyes towards the quarter opposite to that from which the French were approaching, he shouted out, "Fourth squadron, charge!" and the French, anticipating the appearance of a large body of cavalry, wheeled round and in a few moments were out of sight. It was now dark; and Körner, crawling farther into the forest, and crouching down among the thick underwood, anxiously awaited the return of his comrades. But hour after hour of that long night wore away, and no sounds were heard but the footsteps of the French soldiers sent in search of him, and the shouts which they uttered from time to time to warn one another of their position. Despairing at last of relief, sick at heart, and exhausted by the loss of blood, Theodore thought that his last hour was come; and stretching his stiffening

limbs on the turf, sank into a heavy slumber, from which he would probably never have awaked had he not been discovered about daybreak by two peasants, whom his comrades had dispatched in search of him. With some difficulty Körner was roused from his lethargic sleep and conveyed to the village of Zschocher, where a skilful surgeon bound up his wounds, and the kind villagers tended him with the most affectionate care. But his perils were scarcely yet ended; for the French, furious at his escape, and anxious to possess the military chest belonging to Lützow's corps, which was known to be in his custody, issued proclamation after proclamation, forbidding the country people to harbour Theodore Körner, and offering a considerable reward to any one who would deliver him into their hands. Meanwhile his friends at Leipzic had been informed of his perilous situation, and, although the town and surrounding country swarmed with French troops, they succeeded in conveying him through a garden gate, which communicated by means of a canal and an unfrequented footpath with the village of Zschocher. After remaining five days concealed in the house of one of his friends, Körner quitted Leipzic, and joined his corps a few days before the expiration of the armistice.

On the morning of the 25th of August Lützow, who had formed an ambuscade in a wood near Rosenberg, was informed by some Cossacks, posted on a neighbouring height to watch the enemy's movements, that a number of ammunition waggons were in sight, escorted by a considerable body of cavalry and tirailleurs. On receiving this intelligence, Lützow ordered the Cossacks to charge the enemy in front, whilst his own cavalry attacked their flank. Körner, as adjutant, rode by the side of his commander. During their halt in the wood he had written his celebrated 'Song of the Sword,' and was reciting the last stanza* to his comrades when the signal for attack was given. The enemy, although more

* Nun laszt das Liebohen singen,
Dasz helle Funken springen,
Der Hochzeit-morgen graut.
Hurrah! du Eisenbraut!

Hurrah!

Then welcome, lov'd one, singing,
While sparks in show'rs are springing,
Thy bridal morning-tide.
Hurrah! my iron bride!

Hurrah!

numerous than Lützow had anticipated, gave way before the charge of the Cossacks, and retreated in considerable disorder along the road leading from Gadebusch to Schwerin, closely pursued by Lützow's cavalry. The French tirailleurs had in the mean time concealed themselves in a thick coppice of underwood, from which they kept up a quick but random fire on the Prussians. Körner, who was among the foremost of the pursuers, happening to come within the range of their rifles, received a ball which, passing through his body, wounded the spine, and at once deprived him of speech and consciousness. His comrades raised him from the ground and bore him to the neighbouring wood, where a surgeon, having examined the wound, pronounced it fatal; and in a few moments Theodore Körner died without a struggle. He was buried under an oak near the village of Wöbbelin, where the mortal remains of his sister now repose by his side.

The Battle of Leipzig, October 16-18, 1813.—The events of these dreadful days are graphically described by an eye-witness. "One of the most respectable families of our city was sitting together yesterday during the fearful cannonade, when a shell dropped through the roof, and shattered the arm of a little maiden, who was lying on her mother's knees. The mother uttered a cry of agony: but the little one entreated her not to weep, for she knew that God would give her another arm. Did ever poet utter words which touched so powerfully the chords of the human heart? Meanwhile the cannonade and discharge of musketry were sustained most fiercely in the neighbourhood of the outer gates, which were strongly barricaded and protected by palisades: the garden walls were also pierced with holes, through which an uninterrupted fire was kept up on the advanced guard of the allies. Many shots entered the city and did considerable mischief; yet so little in comparison of the number discharged, as to excite the astonishment of those who had never been accustomed to consider the difference between aiming and nitting. Once or twice I quitted the suffocating cellar in which my family were packed, and went up stairs into my own bedroom, but two or three bullets whistling close to my nose soon sent me back again. It was now mid-day, when suddenly a cry arose, so wild and fearful as to fill us with indescribable dismay: then another, but of a different character, and then the clattering of horses' hoofs, and the clash of sabres; and at last a loud,

long shout of triumph. The last division of the French army had been driven from the city, and a victorious band of Prussians and Cossacks had forced their way into it, and were now welcoming a body of their allies, who had entered at the opposite gate. Again I hurried up stairs, in time to see another gate burst open, and thousands of our friends rushing and crowding over meadows and gardens into the heart of the city. The French were still in possession of two batteries near the gate of Randstadt: and a strong party of the conquerors, breaking from the main body, waded through the marshy ground for the purpose of dislodging them. Nothing could withstand the fury of this attack: the unhappy defenders were either hurled headlong into the Pleiss or the town ditches—or huddled together in groups were screaming for quarter, in a tone which I still hear in my dreams—when suddenly, from the opposite side, there rang out a bugle strain so clear and powerful, as well nigh to drown their cries of agony. Well did I know that point of war, for it was the bugle-charge of the Prussian volunteers, many of whom were my own dearest friends. I burst into tears, and in an agony of excitement threw open my window, and regardless of the bullets, which still whistled round me, waved my handkerchief to the troops as they defiled past the house; and then ran down stairs to tell all who would listen to me, of what I had seen and heard. The allies had now possession of almost every street, and dense columns might be seen in all directions marching rapidly forwards, whilst from time to time, wherever the increased breadth of the street afforded room, a party of impatient youths would disengage themselves from the main body, and rush forwards at the top of their speed with loud shouts and screams of eagerness. Two tall Prussian chasseurs had just succeeded in effecting this manoeuvre, when a shot from one of the Frenchmen who lay in ambush in the gardens near our house, struck the foremost of them on the breast. For a few moments his comrade tried to support him; but the wound was evidently mortal, and the poor fellow was fain to lay his dying friend gently on the ground under a linden tree, and try to staunch the blood which gushed from his side. What strangely-constituted creatures we are! I had already witnessed the butchery of hundreds, almost with indifference; but this solitary picture of death so completely unmanned me, that I threw myself on my sofa, and for some moments sat lost in gloomy meditation on the lot of mortals—joy

succeeded by sorrow, and life purchased by death. The thirst for revenge and contempt of death displayed by the French were heroic, but terrible to behold. In the garden underneath my windows a party of them lurked behind the trees, and fired from time to time on the conquerors, although they knew that it was useless, and would only hasten their own destruction. Four had taken refuge in a little summer-house, and when we called to them to surrender, they presented their pieces, and swore that if we came a step nearer, they would fire. In the town-ditches stood several of them, holding their arms and ammunition clear of the water, and loading and firing with wonderful rapidity; and whenever one of the allies was hit, and sank beneath the surface, they sent forth a shout like that of the hunter who has brought down his game. Every gate had now been forced, and Prussians, Swedes, Russians, and Austrians were streaming into the city: yet the few French who remained contested every inch of ground; and gardens, summer-houses, and even drawing-rooms were strewed with their dead bodies. Our Saxon troops had piled arms in the Grimmer Street, and those of Baden in the market-place: but at the cry of 'Brethren, with us!' they resumed them and rushed to embrace their comrades. But the most touching sight of all was the meeting of the monarchs in the market-place, where they embraced each other amidst loud shouts, and heartfelt thanksgivings to the Almighty. Not to have been present at such a scene would have been a subject of regret to me as long as I live. The *naïve* honesty of the Cossacks, which has its origin perchance in certain stringent regulations of their commanders, combined as it is with their natural desire to possess almost everything that belongs to other people, gives rise to many comic adventures. In the suburbs especially, they force their way into every house, and in the most friendly tone assure the inhabitants that '*Cossack good man! Cossack no take!*' whilst their eyes are wandering about in search of some object on which they can lay their hands: and almost before they have uttered the petition in their broken German, '*Brother, give Cossack this—give Cossack that*'—the article is in their pockets. Not that they care much for valuable property; but are rather attracted, like children, by those objects which they think likely to amuse them. At S——'s a party of them dropped in whilst the family were at dinner; and amidst the warmest embraces, and assurances that they wanted nothing, swept all his napkins off the table. At

D——'s, seeing the balls on his billiard table, they begged that he would make them a present of those little bullets, 'they rolled so nicely.' In the streets they are still more moderate, and will even listen to remonstrance. I was crossing the market-place, when something struck me smartly on the shoulder. I turned quickly round, and there stood three Russians. '*Hech!*' said one of them, '*Coat, brother, coat,*' making at the same time a very intelligible gesture. 'But I want it myself, brother,' said I, 'and besides, it is too small for you.' '*Hech! good, good,*' quoth my friend, and off he walked as much delighted as if I had given him my coat. I cannot sufficiently praise the contentedness and moderation of the principal officers in the allied army. One instance I will relate, which occurred in my own immediate neighbourhood. A Russian officer of high rank (I wish I could remember his name) came to the house of an elderly lady, and asked for quarters. 'I have already received all my billets,' replied the old lady, 'and provided for them out of the house. I am here with only a single servant, and all the provision I have in the world is a small sack of potatoes.' 'All that may be true enough,' said the officer, 'but I have not slept in a bed for four nights. If you will take me in, I will be content with whatever you choose to give me; and the day after to-morrow at daybreak I will shift my quarters.—How say you,—will you refuse me this?' 'God forbid,' said the lady of the house, 'but I have only one room and one bed to give you.' The officer takes possession of his quarters, gives the good woman as little trouble as possible—his servant sleeps outside his door on the floor, and both regale themselves at dinner and supper on potatoes, and at the appointed time march out with many expressions of gratitude. The meanest horse-boy in the French army would have exacted ten times as much attention. In the court-yard of our house are bivouacked forty-two Swedes with their horses. It does one's heart good to look at these fine fellows, and observe their quiet, modest demeanour. Such were the soldiers who served under Gustavus Adolphus. They are in want of almost everything; but you hear no complaints, no grumbling, not an unfriendly word. Whatever is given to them, be it much or little, good or bad, they receive with thankfulness and share equally. Not one of them thinks of providing for himself, until his horse is served: and if any of the party bring in a little bundle of forage, it is divided into equal portions, and

given to their beasts—each striving by caresses and kind words to make amends for the scantiness of the provender. At sunrise they may be seen sitting on the steps, or on the ground, each with his little psalm-book in his hand. Of their fallen comrades they speak with regret, but without any unmanly lamentation. Even when I questioned them about their wounded, I could get little from them beyond ‘God will provide.’ Of their Crown Prince they speak in the highest terms. ‘He has led us nobly,’ they say, ‘and our people love him.’ And these are the men whom travellers represent as cold, rugged, and savage, like the glaciers, rocks, and bears of their native deserts.”

CHAPTER LXIV.

INVASION OF FRANCE BY THE ALLIES.—ABDICATION OF NAPOLEON.—
BATTLE OF WATERLOO.—SECOND PEACE OF PARIS.

A.D. 1814-15.

SCARCELY had Napoleon re-crossed the Rhine when the whole of the Rhenish confederacy abandoned him: an example which was soon followed by Holland, Switzerland, and Italy. The allies, now on the eve of entering France, issued a manifesto, in which they solemnly declared that they made war, not on the French nation, but on Napoleon alone. The people, nevertheless, remained unshaken in their attachment, and flocked in crowds to his standard. In the beginning of the year 1814 four armies invaded France from different quarters: Bülow, from Holland; Blücher, from Coblenz; the grand army under Schwartzemberg, from Switzerland; and the united forces of the English and Spaniards from the Pyrenees. On the 29th of January Blücher was attacked by the Emperor near the town of Brienne,* so suddenly, that he narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. But a few days later (February 1) his division, supported by the whole army of the allies (who had now concentrated an overwhelming force of more than 100,000 men, under the command of the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia), obtained

* Napoleon was educated at the military school of this place.

a decisive victory over the French near La Rothière. On the 3rd, Napoleon fell back on Troyes, the capital of Champagne; where Mortier was already occupied in erecting barricades and making other preparations for a vigorous defence. A congress was held at Châtillon early in February, and peace offered to Napoleon, on condition of his ceding all those provinces which had not formed part of the French dominions before the revolution; but this proposal he rejected with indignation, declaring that he would either retain or lose all. The allies, thinking a combined plan of operations no longer necessary, now committed the error, which had well-nigh proved ruinous to their cause, of separating the army of Silesia from the grand army under Schwartzenberg, the former following the course of the Marne to Paris, the latter marching on the capital by Troyes and Montereau through the valley of the Seine. The difficulty of finding provision and forage for such a multitude was the reason assigned for this imprudent manœuvre, which placed the two armies at a considerable distance from each other; whilst Napoleon, still at the head of 70,000 men, occupied a central position between them. The consequences of their separation were soon apparent. Napoleon, disregarding the Austrians, whose movements, always slow and methodical, were now embarrassed by the unwillingness of Francis to precipitate the ruin of his son-in-law, resolved on intercepting Blücher at all hazards; and having on the 10th defeated the Russian divisions at Champaubert, and the corps of General Sacken on the following day at Montmirail, he appeared unexpectedly before the village of Vauchamps, which had just been evacuated, after a gallant defence, by the corps of Marshal Marmont. At sight of the imperial standard the retreating army instantly halted, and facing round, forced back the Prussian advanced guard upon the main body, which had barely time to form itself into squares, when it was attacked on two sides by the French cavalry under General Grouchy; whilst at the same time the artillery of Marmont's division, which had been for some time silent, re-opened a heavy fire in front. It was now Blücher's turn to commence a retreat, which he effected in good order, until, on ascending an eminence, he found himself confronted by Grouchy, who had been sent forward with three thousand cuirassiers to intercept the allied army before they reached the forest of Etoges, where the horse would be no longer available. Already hard pressed by a superior force, and almost

without cavalry, Blücher seems for a time to have lost his presence of mind. "In the fiend's name," said he to an officer, who tried to raise the spirits of his commander, by turning the whole affair into a jest; "in the fiend's name hold thy peace, man—my head is confused enough already." Meanwhile two Prussian battalions had been cut to pieces by the French cuirassiers, and the destruction of the whole army seemed inevitable; when Blücher, starting from his melancholy reverie at the voice of his aide-de-camp, Nostitz, commanded the bugles to sound a charge, and rushing forwards at the head of his artillery and infantry, succeeded in clearing a passage through the enemy and reaching Etoges. Scarcely, however, had the wearied soldiers commenced their bivouac when an alarm was given that General Udom's brigade was attacked by Marmont, whose troops were comparatively fresh. On receiving this intelligence Blücher at once abandoned the town, and after a fierce conflict arrived about midnight at Bergères. During the confusion of this night-march Blücher was accosted by an officer, who anxiously enquired what had become of the field-marshal. "I am he," said Blücher, in a melancholy tone; "and I should have been better pleased if one of their bullets had laid me as low as those poor fellows." After a few hours' rest the army continued its march to Châlons, which it reached on the evening of the 15th. Out of a force which scarcely exceeded twenty thousand men, the allies lost in this disastrous retreat seven thousand killed, wounded, and prisoners, fifteen guns, and eight stands of colours. Had the heavy artillery of Grouchy's corps come up in time to co-operate with his cuirassiers, scarcely a man would have escaped to carry the intelligence of Blücher's defeat to Schwartzemberg; but happily their progress through the heavy ploughed ground was so slow, that the retreating army had time to cut their way through the enemy, and obtain shelter in the forest of Etoges, before a single gun could be brought to bear on their front or flank. The divisions of the Silesian army now re-united, and shortly afterwards marched towards the Aube in order to form a junction with the grand army. Meanwhile the advanced guard of Schwartzemberg had halted within ten leagues of the capital; and Napoleon, abandoning all further pursuit of Blücher, proceeded to Montereau, where he attacked the division of the Prince Royal of Würtemberg on the 18th of February; and after an obstinate engagement, which lasted the whole day, compelled them to give way and

re-cross the river. This was the last of Napoleon's victories. The allies, now fully aware of the fatal error which they had committed, resolved on concentrating their forces in front of Troyes and offering battle to the enemy; but scarcely had Blücher's division, which he had raised by extraordinary exertions to the number of 50,000, effected a junction with the grand army, when it was resolved in a council of war to evacuate Troyes, and falling back on the Rhine, await there the result of fresh negotiations with Napoleon. Against this resolution Blücher and the Emperor Alexander vehemently protested; and, after a long and stormy discussion, it was at length decided, on the motion of the English plenipotentiary, Viscount Castlereagh, that the grand army alone should retreat to Langres, whilst Blücher, marching to the Marne, should be joined by the corps of Winzingerode, Bülow, and Woronzow, and advance at once on Paris. On the 20th of March, Napoleon, after taking the town of Rheims, engaged the grand army, without any decisive result, at Arcis-sur-Aube; and on the following day, instead of renewing the engagement, commenced a retreat towards the Rhine, with the intention of obtaining reinforcements from his frontier garrisons, and assisting the peasants of Lorraine and Alsace, who only waited his approach to commence a fierce attack on the flanks and rear of Schwartzenberg's army. A letter addressed by Napoleon to the Empress, in which the whole of this plan was detailed, having fallen into the hands of the allies, it was resolved in a council of war held at Vitry on the 24th, that General Winzingerode should remain behind with 10,000 cavalry and artillery to meet Napoleon, whilst the united armies of Schwartzenberg and Blücher advanced without further delay to the capital. On the 30th of March, after some skirmishing on the heights of Belleville and Montmartre, a capitulation was signed by Marshals Mortier and Marmont, who engaged to withdraw the remnant of their troops and surrender Paris to the allies on the following morning. Meanwhile Napoleon, kept in play by the divisions of Winzingerode and Tettenborn, only became aware of the departure of the main body of the allies when it was too late to overtake them. Hurrying back to Fontainebleau, he had there the misfortune to learn that many of his marshals had abandoned him; and, finding further resistance hopeless, he abdicated the imperial crown on the 10th of April, and retired to the island of Elba, which was assigned to him as his property and future place of residence. On the 4th

of May Louis XVIII. re-entered the capital of his ancestral kingdom; and on the 30th of the same month a general peace was concluded on terms so unreasonably favourable to France, as it appeared to Blücher, that the veteran protested vehemently, but ineffectually, against an arrangement which permitted the French to retain the German provinces of Lorraine and Alsace. "It was a stretch of magnanimity," he said, "which the French had no right to expect, and of which no good would come." The wranglings of the Congress, assembled at Vienna in September, were regularly reported to Napoleon, and revived hopes which had been well-nigh extinguished by his recent calamities. Not only was time wasted in unprofitable discussion by the representatives of the allied powers, but even the stability of peace endangered by the claims of Alexander, who required that Prussian Poland should be annexed to his dominions, Prussia receiving as an indemnity the whole of Saxony, which the allies resolved to treat as a conquered country. Against an arrangement so obviously unjust all the nations of Germany raised their voices. "If an indemnification," they said, "be required for Prussia, let France be compelled to disgorge the provinces of which she has robbed Germany; but let not the Saxon people be mulcted because their King has committed a political error." After long and stormy discussions it was at length decided, on the motion of the Austrian plenipotentiary, Prince Metternich, that Russia should receive the whole of Poland, except the grand duchy of Posen, which, with half of Saxony, should be ceded to Prussia. Frederick Augustus of Saxony, who protested against this act of tyrannical injustice, was contemptuously told that until he acceded to the terms offered by the Congress, the *whole* of his kingdom would be treated as a Prussian province. Meanwhile a dark thunder-cloud was gathering in the South.

Napoleon, as we have mentioned, had retired after his abdication to the island of Elba. On the 25th February, 1815, during a feast given by the banished Emperor to his little court, orders were suddenly issued for the troops to embark on board seven small vessels which were lying in the roadstead. After a calm of some duration a stiff breeze springing up from the south carried the Corsican squadron rapidly towards the coast of France. So little suspicion however was caused by their appearance, that a French cruiser actually hailed one of them, and inquired after the ex-Emperor's health. The answer was given by Napoleon

himself, who, seizing a speaking-trumpet, shouted out, "Il se porte à merveille." On the 1st of March he landed with about eleven hundred men at Cannes, on the southern coast of France. No sooner was his arrival known than a small body of troops marched to the coast to oppose his progress. Napoleon subdued them by one of those coups de théâtre which seldom fail to touch the heart of a Frenchman. Advancing in front of his little army, he fixed his eyes with a melancholy expression on the French troops, and called on those who would slay their Emperor to stand forth. Not a man quitted the ranks. For a few moments there was a pause—then the whole corps, as if animated by one spirit, tore the white cockade from their caps, and raised a universal shout of "Vive l'Empereur!" "Oui," growled some of the veterans, who had grown grey under his eye, "Vive notre petit caporal! nous ne l'abandonnerons jamais." Another regiment having joined him under the walls of Grenoble, that fortress, as well as Lyons, capitulated. Marshal Ney, who had been despatched from Paris with a considerable force, no sooner found himself in presence of his former master than he forgot his oath of allegiance to Louis XVIII., and a second time changed sides. Encouraged by this propitious commencement of his enterprise, Napoleon now issued a proclamation denouncing death against any Bourbon who should remain in France. On the night of the 19th March Louis XVIII. quitted the Tuileries, and on the following day the usurper entered Paris in triumph. As soon as the news of Napoleon's escape reached Vienna, where the Congress was still sitting, a manifesto was published by the allied monarchs, declaring him an outlawed traitor, and calling on all the other sovereigns of Europe to aid them in replacing the King of France on the throne, from which he had been driven by a desperate faction. At the same time the three allied sovereigns and the Prince Regent of England pledged themselves each to equip with all speed an army of 180,000 men. The English ambassador at Berlin was still sleeping, when a rough voice shouted in his ear, "Have the English a fleet in the Mediterranean?" Starting up in astonishment, he saw Blücher at his bed-side, and learned from him the disastrous intelligence which had just reached the Prussian capital. After a very short visit the veteran took his leave with these ominous words—"We must begin it all over again—thanks to the carelessness of your countrymen," and hastened to his own house, whence he was

soon afterwards seen to issue in the full-dress uniform of a field-marshal. About the middle of April Blücher marched into the Netherlands and established his head-quarters at Liège, and on the 2nd of June found himself, through the strenuous exertions of the war-minister, Bogen, at the head of an army of 117,000 men, with which he occupied the country between the Sambre and the Meuse, while the Duke of Wellington with 100,000 occupied the whole of Flanders from Brussels to the sea. Napoleon with 130,000 men and 350 pieces of cannon took up his position between Valenciennes and Lisle. His plan was first to attack Blücher and then advance to meet the English. The English commander-in-chief heard of the advance of the French on the afternoon of the 15th; but with characteristic coolness attended, with his staff officers, a ball given at Brussels that evening by the Duchess of Richmond. On the following day he had an interview with Blücher, and promised to send 20,000 men to his assistance before four o'clock on the 16th; but the occupation of Wavre by Ney's division rendered this impossible without prematurely risking an engagement. In the afternoon of the 16th, Napoleon with 75,000 men advanced to attack Blücher's position at Ligny. Just before the battle began General Bourmont went over to the Prussians. "It signifies little," said Blücher contemptuously, pointing to the white cockade which Bourmont had placed in his hat, "it signifies little what colours a man wears—a scoundrel will still be a scoundrel."* The Prussians fought with their accustomed bravery, and for five hours made their position good against the enemy; but at length, about seven o'clock in the evening, a terrible charge, led by Napoleon in person, threw their infantry into irretrievable confusion. Blücher, at the head of a few thousand light cavalry, now attacked the heavy French dragoons; but as he galloped forward, cheering his men on to the charge, a cannon-ball struck his horse, which fell to the ground mortally wounded, crushing the rider beneath its body. After lying in great agony, and being several times ridden over, he was at last discovered by some of his soldiers and conveyed to a place of safety, where he was attended by a surgeon, who proceeded to chafe his bruised limbs with some liquid. Blücher inquired what it was; "Spirits," replied the surgeon. "It is of no use applying it *outwardly*," roared the intractable patient; and, seizing the flask, he swallowed its contents, and

* Hundsfott bleibt Hundsfott.

then dismissed the surgeon from his presence. The remnant of his army retreated in tolerable order, leaving the French in possession of the field. Whilst Napoleon was thus engaged with the Prussians at Ligny, Marshal Ney disputed the position of Quatre-Bras with a division of the British and Belgian forces, commanded by the Prince of Orange. In this engagement the Duke of Brunswick was slain: and Ney, after sustaining a heavy loss, fell back on his former position. On the 17th the Prussian army, now augmented by the arrival of Bülow's division, marched northwards in order to support the Duke of Wellington, who had retreated slowly from Quatre-Bras and drawn up his force, consisting of 72,000 men, on the heights of Mont St. Jean, with his head-quarters at the village of Waterloo, and the forest of Soignies in his rear. Napoleon, with 80,000, occupied the heights of Planchenois, with his head-quarters at a farm-house called Caillou. He had previously despatched General Grouchy with 32,000 men to keep the Prussians in check. The battle began on the 18th at mid-day, with a fierce attack of the French on the British left wing, commanded by Sir Thomas Picton. Then followed an attempt on the part of Napoleon to break their centre: but Wellington, forming his men into squares, stood firm, awaiting the coming up of Blücher, who, according to the Prussian accounts, had pledged his word that he would appear on the 18th with his whole force. But hour after hour passed in anxious suspense; and it was not until half-past four in the afternoon that the sound of a distant cannonade announced the advance of the Prussians. The road from Wavre to Waterloo had been rendered almost impracticable by the heavy rains; and many of the Prussian soldiers, worn out by their violent exertions in the battle of the 16th, scantily fed, and drenched to the skin, had several times sunk to the ground from sheer exhaustion. Once, when the cannon stuck fast in a deep part of the road, they seemed inclined to abandon the attempt in despair, and sullenly muttered, "It won't do, father Blücher." But the cheerful voice of their old commander was heard above all, reminding them of their duty, and encouraging them to greater exertions. "Children," he shouted, "we *must* forwards. 'Tis all very well to say it won't do, but it *must* do. I have promised it to my brother Wellington—you would not have me break my word." At first Napoleon supposed, or at least pretended to believe, that Grouchy's division was advancing; but, becoming speedily aware of his mistake, he deter-

mined to charge the English centre with his reserve, which consisted of four regiments of the old guard. But Wellington had provided for such a contingency, and opened a heavy fire from several batteries which had been hitherto masked; whilst, at the same time, the English army charged the enemy in front, and Blücher, Bülow, and Ziethen attacked the flank and rear. Thus surrounded, the French gave way and fled in confusion, with the exception of Napoleon's guard, which continued to resist the attacks of Bülow's cavalry until they were mostly cut to pieces.* The Prussians, forgetting their weariness, pursued the flying French so closely that Napoleon himself was obliged to abandon his carriage at Gemappe, leaving behind him his hat and sword, which Blücher forwarded to the King of Prussia, retaining the carriage, cloak, and telescope for his own share of the booty, and dividing all the Emperor's valuables among his soldiers. On the 7th July Blücher and Wellington entered Paris for the second time. So vehement was the Prussian General's indignation against the French, that he actually proposed the dismemberment of their country; and was on the eve of blowing up the bridge of Jena, but was saved by Wellington from the disgrace of committing an act of such wanton barbarism. Talleyrand had previously employed a friend to intercede with him; but Blücher refused to listen to his remonstrances. "I shall blow up the bridge," he said, "and it would give me great pleasure if Prince Talleyrand were seated upon it."

On the 20th of November a second peace was concluded at Paris, on conditions more favourable to the French than perhaps they deserved, although sufficiently humiliating to a brave and high-spirited people. Eighteen frontier fortresses were to be garrisoned by the allies, and a foreign army of 150,000 men to be maintained at the cost of the French nation, until the Bourbon dynasty was firmly established on the throne. The French were also required to deliver up all the works of art which they had stolen, and to pay an indemnity to the allies of seven hundred millions of francs. So faithfully were these conditions executed, that in a congress held at Aix-la-Chapelle in the autumn of 1818, it was resolved by the allied monarchs to withdraw their army, as no longer necessary for the maintenance of order in France.

* "La garde meurt, mais ne se rend pas," was the reply of their commander, General Cambronne, when summoned by Bülow to surrender.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER LXIV.

Blücher.—Born 1742, died 1819.—Gebhard Leberecht von Blücher was born at Rostock in Mecklenburg in the year 1742; and at the breaking out of the Seven Years' War, being then in the fourteenth year of his age, was sent with his elder brother to the house of their brother-in-law, on the island of Rügen. The education of the young men, which had been neglected at home, does not seem to have been carried on much more efficiently in their new residence, where most of their time was employed in the chase, or in navigating a little leaky boat on the waters of the Baltic. Nor was the object for which they were sent thither fully attained; for in a short time some detachments of Swedish soldiers landed on the island; and young Blücher, delighted at this spectacle, the first that he had ever witnessed of military splendour, at once announced his intention of entering the army. The brother-in-law now interposed his authority, such as it was, to prevent his taking a step which, as the well-meaning man represented, would break the hearts of Blücher's parents: but the boys had already formed their plans, and finding their relative inexorable, Gebhard and his brother eloped at midnight from their sister's house, and found their way to the Swedish camp, where the commanding officer received them with kindness, but refused to enlist them without the sanction of their guardian. A letter was accordingly despatched to the brother-in-law, who gave a reluctant consent, and Gebhard commenced his military career as a hussar in the Swedish service. Here he soon distinguished himself by his bravery; and would often, when engaged in skirmishing parties, amuse his commanders by the boldness and activity with which he hovered about the enemy, taunting them with their want of manhood, and exciting the wrath, and sometimes the laughter of the German troopers, by his sallies of camp-wit. At length an old grim hussar, an Austrian by birth, whom he had goaded almost into madness, suddenly wheeled his horse round, and shouting in his provincial jargon, "Wait a bit, lad, I'll tackle thee," * gave chase to the unfortunate volunteer, whom he followed over hedge and ditch, until, Blücher's horse being blown, he was compelled to yield himself a prisoner, and

* Wart nur, Bübel, werd di schon schlachte.

was conducted into the presence of the Prussian Colonel von Belling. Here it was proposed to him to enter the Prussian army; but this the young soldier flatly refused, unless permission could be obtained from the Swedish government; and remained a prisoner in the Prussian camp, until an accident afforded him the opportunity of again engaging in active service, without prejudice to his honour. The Prussians had taken a Swedish officer, who in former days had served in their army, but deserted, and gone over to the enemy. By the laws of war this man had incurred the penalty of death: but Belling, anxious to secure the services of his young prisoner, obtained permission from the King to set the Swedish officer at liberty, on condition of Blücher's being allowed to enter the Prussian army. No objection being made to this proposal, Blücher renounced his allegiance to the Swede, and at the age of seventeen entered the service of which he was afterwards the most distinguished ornament. But his wild, careless disposition and irregular habits were perpetually involving him in discreditable adventures, which were generally reported, not without exaggeration, to his commanding officer, and at length reached the ears of the King, who, justly indignant at his irregularities, commanded that his name should be passed over in the next promotion. Accordingly we find in the year 1771 Blücher, still a captain, angrily requesting permission to retire from the Prussian service. For many months the King refused to accede to his request, but finding Blücher obstinate, he too lost patience, and penned a discharge in these words:—"Captain Blücher is discharged, and may take service with the — if he likes." The effects of this imprudent step were likely to be severely felt at this time by Blücher, who was on the eve of contracting marriage with the daughter of a Saxon colonel, the possessor of considerable property in Poland. But neither Blücher nor his intended bride was to be deterred by unpropitious circumstances from carrying into effect any plan on which they had set their hearts; and the marriage took place at the time originally appointed, although no better provision offered itself than the management of a small farm, which Blücher rented from his father-in-law. Here by the most rigid economy they contrived to accumulate a sum of money sufficient for the purchase of a little estate; where they continued to reside until the death of Frederick II., when Blücher, after fifteen years of retirement, again entered the Prussian army with the rank of Major. In the

year 1792 war with France was proclaimed, and in the campaigns of the two following years Blücher's regiment distinguished itself by the capture of four thousand prisoners, fourteen hundred horses, and nine pieces of cannon, without having a single man killed, and losing only six prisoners. At the peace of Bâle in 1795 Blücher retired to his estate, where he spent the next eleven years of his life, like most of his old comrades, in the smoking-room and at the gaming-table. The year 1806 called him again into the field; but with the exception of a few months' active service, he continued in retirement until the beginning of 1813, when the King of Prussia, encouraged by the destruction of the French grand army in the Russian campaign of the previous year, ventured again to declare war against Napoleon. From this time until the peace of 1815, Blücher was constantly engaged in active service. In the month of July, 1814, soon after the first abdication of Napoleon, the allied monarchs visited England, where they were received with great cordiality—Blücher especially, the brave veteran who had so stedfastly resisted the common enemy of European freedom, when others quailed before him, was so warmly greeted by the populace on his landing at Dover, that his coat was torn into shreds, and himself nearly suffocated by the vehemence of their welcome. At Oxford the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred in full convocation on the distinguished visitor. "They are going to make me a Doctor, I hear," said Blücher: "they should make Gneisenau an apothecary then; for if I wrote the prescription, he made the pills." In London ladies of the highest rank contended for the honour of a kiss from the smoky mouth of the old General; who would sit for hours together at his window, tranquilly enjoying his pipe, and nodding kindly to the crowds who besieged his lodgings throughout the day. On the 18th of the following June Napoleon was defeated at Waterloo, and having surrendered himself to Captain Maitland of the *Bellerophon*, was conveyed a prisoner to the island of St. Helena, where he died on the 5th of May, 1821. His ancient enemy had closed his long and chequered life two years before. The words which Blücher once addressed to a flatterer whose immoderate praise deeply offended him, may serve to display his character better than any lengthened panegyric. "For what do you commend me?—It was my recklessness, Gneisenau's cautiousness, AND THE GREAT GOD'S LOVING KINDNESS."

CHAPTER LXV.

GERMANY FROM THE PEACE TO THE YEAR 1850.

THE settlement of Europe after the peace of 1815 produced great changes in the political state of Germany. Austria, abandoning her obsolete claims to Alsace, Lorraine, the Netherlands and Switzerland, received, in addition to her hereditary states, Venice and the Milanese under the title of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, as well as Illyria, Venetian Dalmatia, the Tyrol, Vorarlberg, Salzburg, and a few other provinces. Thus withdrawing more and more from Germany, she extended her empire southwards and eastwards over nations not belonging to the Teutonic stock. Prussia obtained the Polish Grand Dukedom of Posen, Swedish Pomerania, half Saxony, a large part of Westphalia, and the Lower Rhine from Mentz to Aix-la-Chapelle. Bavaria, in compensation for the provinces ceded to Austria, received Würzburg, Aschaffenburg, and the Upper Palatinate, under the name of Rhenish Bavaria. The rest of the German states remained much as they were before; but the Landgrave of Hesse retained the title of Elector, which had been bestowed upon him by Napoleon, though as the empire was not revived it had no longer any meaning. All Germany entered into an alliance, called "the German Confederation," consisting, with the four free towns of Lübeck, Hamburg, Bremen, and Frankfort-on-the-Main, of thirty-nine states. Deputies from these states formed a diet, which was to sit constantly at Frankfort, and of which Austria was to be perpetual president. Only the eleven principal states were, however, endowed each with a *whole* vote; the remaining votes being so divided, by classing the smaller states together, as to constitute seventeen in all. The new settlement of Europe was guaranteed by a league concluded between Austria, Prussia, and Russia, and called "the Holy Alliance."

The recent history of Germany presents little more than a series of civil commotions. Her various states have been agitated by the question of national unity, and the settlement of their internal government. By the Act of Confederation, the German princes promised to grant their subjects constitutions, which among several of the smaller, and especially the southern

states, were at once put upon the anvil. They came in the shape of a boon from the prince. In Würtemberg the people rejected the proffered constitution, on the ground that they had not been consulted.*

From the agitation of these questions sprang modern German liberalism, which first appeared in the universities, especially in that of Jena. Soon after the peace we find the German students adopting what is called "the German dress," viz., a short black coat, a black cap, linen trowsers, and open shirt collars. Their motto was "God, Freedom, Honour, Fatherland!" In 1817 the celebration of the third century of the Reformation inspired the students with the idea of assembling on the Wartburg on the 18th of October, the anniversary of the battle of Leipsic. On the day appointed numbers assembled from the universities of Jena, Göttingen, Kiel, Giessen, Berlin, Heidelberg, Marburg, Leipsic, Rostock, Tübingen, &c. Here the black, red, and gold colours, the ancient symbols of the empire, were first revived and planted. The greater part of these young men contented themselves with the speeches, songs, and prayers with which the meeting was celebrated, and with an evening procession by torchlight to the neighbouring Wartenberg. Some, however, remained behind to celebrate a sort of after festival, in which Massmann, a student of Jena, played the Luther of the 19th century. A fire was kindled, and amidst shouts of exultation Massmann consigned a belt like those worn by the Prussian officers of the guard, a Hessian pig-tail, an Austrian corporal's bâton, and some unpopular books, such as Kotzebue's "History of the German Empire," Haller's "Restoration of Political Science," with several others, to the flames.

At the Congress of allied sovereigns at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, the Russian minister, Stourdza, handed in a paper denouncing the movements in the German universities as revolutionary. This directed the hatred of the liberals against Russia, and especially against Augustus von Kotzebue, the dramatist, who had started a weekly paper for the purpose of ridiculing the proceedings of the university students and professors, and who was suspected of being in the pay of Russia, and of transmitting to St. Petersburg denunciations of the German patriots. A student of Jena, named Sand, not distinguished for ability, but

* The last remains of serfdom in Germany were abolished by the Duke of Mecklenburg in 1820.

of what are called exalted notions, fired by the universal execrations which he heard uttered against Kotzebue, went to Mannheim in March 1819, and stabbed him to the heart. Sand afterwards attempted suicide, but only wounded himself, and was executed the following year. His act led to the suspicion of a general conspiracy. A central commission of inquiry was established at Mentz, which sat for ten years, and filled the prisons with youths, but without arriving at any results. Many professors were either deprived of their chairs or banished.

Nothing further occurred to disturb the tranquillity of Germany till the outbreak of the French revolution in 1830. Austria, under the guidance of Prince Metternich, and supported by Russia, was steadily proceeding in the consolidation of her absolute empire. German patriotism, which seemed extinct, unexpectedly revived in the person of the King of Bavaria. Louis,* who in 1825 succeeded Maximilian in that kingdom, had made himself known as a patriot, a poet, and a connoisseur and protector of the fine arts. Immediately after his accession he reduced the expenses of the court and army, transferred the university of Landshut to Munich, adorned that capital with new buildings, and by forming collections of pictures and statues, rendered it the centre of art in Germany. At Ratisbon he founded the building called the Valhalla, destined to receive the busts of German worthies. He was the first to give an example of commercial union to Germany by forming one with the King of Würtemberg. This example was imitated by Prussia, Hanover, Saxony, and other states; but it was not till some years later that the commercial union of northern and southern Germany was destined to be effected. The idea of it was first started by Baron von Cotta, at a meeting of German naturalists in Berlin, in the year 1828.

The expulsion of Charles X. from France in 1830 was the signal for revolution in many of the German states. In Brunswick, Hanover, Saxony, and Hesse, the disturbances assumed a serious character. Charles, Duke of Brunswick, who was in Paris at the time of the revolution, immediately returned home; but instead of taking a lesson from the scene which he had witnessed, refused to listen to the just complaints of his subjects, openly boasted that he should know how to defend his throne better than the French monarch, and threatened to fire on the people with

* In 1832, Otho, second son of this monarch, was elected king of Greece.

artillery. On the 7th of September the Brunswickers rose, and stormed and burned his palace. Duke Charles escaped through the garden. His brother William succeeded to the throne, and gave his subjects a new constitution. He was supported by Prussia and Hanover, and recognised by the German Diet. Duke Charles made an unsuccessful attempt from the Hartz mountains to regain his crown by proclaiming democratical principles.

The disturbances in Saxony and the Electorate of Hesse were followed by somewhat similar results. In the former country, King Anthony was obliged to associate with him on the throne his popular nephew Frederick, and to grant a constitution. In Hesse, the elector abdicated in favour of his son William, who, however, did not prove more popular than his father. In 1831 the Hanoverians rose and obtained a more liberal constitution; but it was abolished a few years afterwards, by Ernest Augustus. Similar tumults on a smaller scale occurred in Hesse Darmstadt and other places.

Meanwhile Prussia, under the rule of Frederick William III., had escaped the commotions which shook the greater part of Germany. That monarch refused to call any general assembly of the nation, but by a law of the 5th June, 1823, he granted provincial States; whose constitution however placed them very much under the control of the crown. Prussia, therefore, still remained a despotism; but the enlightened spirit of her government, by meeting the wants of the age, succeeded in satisfying the people, and formed a very favourable contrast to the absolutism of Austria. More was done in Prussia for the universities, and for the general education of the people, than in any other country of Europe; whilst the interests of religion were forwarded by the union of the Reformed and Lutheran churches. With regard to the general affairs of Germany, Frederick William III. wisely kept in the back ground any pretensions which he was not fully prepared to assert, and therefore permitted Austria to take the lead. In 1836 Prussia formed a commercial league (Zollverein) with most of the principal German states, with the view of facilitating trade by reducing the duties levied in them to one uniform rate. The duties are received by Prussia in the first instance, and distributed by her among the states of the league in proportion to their population. Another object of the league was the establishment of a uniform currency. About the same time the

introduction of railroads contributed to the commercial union of the German states. That between Nuremburg and Furth, opened in December 1835, was the first in Germany. In Austria and Prussia the construction of railroads was undertaken by the government; in the other states private companies were formed for that purpose.

After the impulse communicated to Germany by the French revolution of 1830 had subsided, the natural phlegm of the German people, who, even in the prosecution of their most vital interests, seem ever to require some pressure from without, caused them again to sink into apathy and tranquillity. From this state, however, they were aroused by the still more democratic revolution which established the French republic in February 1848. The deeper colour of that revolution was faithfully mirrored in its German reflection. By the former one, only the smaller states of Germany had been disturbed; but now its two leading powers were also shaken to their centre.

Another sovereign now occupied the Prussian throne. In June 1840, Frederick William III. was gathered to his fathers. His son, Frederick William IV., succeeded; a man of cultivated tastes, and of more ambitious views than his predecessor, but wanting in the firmness and consistency necessary to carry them out. By a patent of the 3rd February, 1847, Frederick William IV. made a certain approach towards representative government, by converting the provincial States into a united Diet, to meet in Berlin so often as the exigencies of the kingdom might require it. The right of voting taxes was granted to this diet, but with some restrictions. The qualification for an elector excluded the far greater part of the population from the franchise; and indeed the king declared in his speech at the opening of the diet, 7th April, 1847, that Prussia was not in a condition to receive a constitution. The events of 1848 produced a wonderful change in these views. On the 14th of March in that year the king's confidence in the loyalty of his subjects was disagreeably shaken by the outbreak of riots in Berlin. They lasted four days, during which many conflicts took place between the military and the people. Addresses to the King poured in on all sides. Those from the Rhenish provinces on the 18th were particularly threatening, and intimated that the adherence of those states to Prussia depended on the nature of the king's answer. The king promised a reply in three hours; at the expiration of which time there appeared

a provisory law respecting the press, and a patent for the speedy assembly of the States. In the latter instrument the king expressed his desire that Germany, instead of a confederation, should become a single federate state, with a general military system, and a general administration of justice; that liberty of the press should prevail throughout Germany, together with the right of freely travelling or settling in any part of it, and that a general commercial union should be established. These concessions to public opinion were placarded in the streets. The people immediately pressed into the Schloss-platz, or square before the palace, and loudly cheered the king when he appeared on the balcony and repeated his assurances. Unfortunately, however, the sight of the troops posted under the entrance to the palace revived the recollections of the previous days of conflict. A cry arose for the military to leave the city, and some of the mob are said to have used threatening gestures. Two or three shots were fired, when the word was given to the cavalry to charge. The people fled in all directions, but only to erect barricades. A terrible conflict ensued, which was maintained during the night. At daybreak on the 19th of March the troops were in possession of the handsomest quarter of the town, namely, from the Linden to the Leipsiger Strasse, but the people still held the rest.

The king had passed the night in consultation with his ministers and generals. In the morning a proclamation was issued, stating that if the people would abandon the barricades, the troops should leave the city. A deputation waited on the King to say that the people would be satisfied with this arrangement, provided it were coupled with the liberation of all who had been made prisoners. The King yielded to this condition; staff-officers and citizens, bearing white flags, hastened to the barricades, and peace was again restored. As soon as the troops had evacuated Berlin, the citizens, as if by concert, collected together the bodies of the slain, crowned them with myrtle, and leaving their gaping and still bleeding wounds exposed, carried them in procession to the palace. Here with loud and repeated cries they summoned the king, who appeared at the window with the queen leaning on his arm, and shrinking back with natural horror at the spectacle which met her view. The king now reiterated his former assurances; and shortly afterwards it was made known that his ministers had been dismissed, and their places filled by

others of more liberal opinions. In the night, however, in consequence of a false alarm that the Prince of Prussia was returning with the troops, the barricades were again erected. In order to restore confidence, the King appeared on horseback on the morning of the 21st, with the German colours round his arm. A procession was formed, and proceeded through the city. In front rode two general officers, wearing the black, red, and gold stripes, followed by the ministers, the burgher-guards, and students; the latter bore the German colours before the King, who was surrounded by the princes of the royal family. The King frequently stopped to address the people, and to excuse an act which seemed to place him at the head of the revolution. He observed that this demonstration was no usurpation; that he had no wish to interfere with the rights of any other prince; that his only object was to restore the unity of Germany. There were some exclamations of "Long live the Emperor of Germany!" a title which the King refused by words and gestures. A proclamation was subsequently published in favour of those who had not heard the royal speeches. It concluded with the remarkable words:—"From this day forwards Prussia becomes merged in Germany."

At the same time revolutionary movements took place in most of the German states; in Silesia, the Rhenish provinces, Saxony, Westphalia, &c.: in the last named country the peasants rose and attacked the castles and residences of the nobility. In Bavaria, King Louis abdicated in favour of his son Maximilian II. In Prussian Poland the disturbances were not put down without much bloodshed, which caused Frederick William IV. to be regarded with suspicion, and as playing into the hands of Russia.

At the first news of the disturbances in France, the German Diet published an address to the nation recommending unity and concord, but asserting that Germany must be elevated to the rank to which she was entitled, though by peaceful methods. On the 5th of March, fifty-one patriots, most of them members of States, met at Heidelberg, and expressed their conviction of the necessity for a national Parliament, or constituent assembly. In order to carry out this object, they caused a provisional Parliament (Vorparlament), consisting of members of diets and legislative chambers throughout Germany, to be summoned to meet at Frankfort on the 30th of March. These men assembled to the number of 500 on the appointed day; and though endowed with no constitutional powers, their authority was recognized by

the diet, and their decrees obeyed by all the states of the confederacy. Their business was properly confined to taking the necessary steps for assembling a German Parliament; but there was among them an ultra-party, composed for the most part of Baden radicals, who asserted the power of the provisional Parliament to determine the future constitution of Germany, and who declared themselves for a republic. The majority, however, were for a monarchical form; and named a committee of fifty, to labour in conjunction with the German Diet in the formation of a new federal constitution. With this view it was resolved that a constituent assembly should be summoned to meet at Frankfort in the following May. Meanwhile the republican party, exasperated by their defeat, openly raised the standard of rebellion under the leadership of Hecker and Struve, and proclaimed a republic in Constance. They attempted to support this ridiculous project with 1200 men and two pieces of cannon. General von Gagern, at the head of some troops of the German Confederation, fell in with them on the 12th of April, and endeavoured to persuade them to lay down their arms; but as he retired from the conference the whole line of the insurgents fired upon and killed him. His troops were struck with a momentary panic; but rallying immediately, charged and routed the insurgents, who were at length completely dispersed. On the 18th of May the constituent assembly met in the Paulskirche at Frankfort, when Baron von Gagern was elected president. The result of its deliberation was that a provisional central government should be established, and with that view it elected the Archduke John of Austria, the emperor's brother, to be Vicar of the Empire. A deputation of the assembly proceeded to Vienna, to offer that dignity to the Archduke, by whom it was accepted on the 5th July. On the 12th the German Diet declared its abdication of its functions, which were now vested in the Vicar; but the constituent assembly continued to sit.

Whilst these things were going on, the revolutionary movement had spread not only into the kingdoms under the Austrian sway, but even to Vienna itself. The news of the French revolution excited a rebellion in Lombardy, and soon afterwards in Hungary. In spite of the absolute policy of Prince Metternich, Hungary still enjoyed a constitutional government. On the 3rd of March, 1848, Kossuth pronounced a violent Philippic against the Austrian government, in the Hungarian diet. His speech

produced a great sensation at Vienna. The people rose on the 13th, and demanded the dismissal of Prince Metternich, who was compelled to resign. The emperor Ferdinand I., who had succeeded to the imperial crown of Austria in 1835, made other concessions, and promised a constitution. When the latter appeared, however, it was rejected by the people, chiefly on the ground that they had not been consulted in the formation of it. It was accordingly withdrawn, and constituent chambers promised; but the populace of Vienna, led on by the *aula*, or university, had now assumed so threatening a posture, that the emperor consulted his own safety, and that of his family, by flying to Innsbruck on the 18th of May. But no disturbances of any moment followed. Loyal addresses poured in from the provinces; and even Hungarian envoys came to submit the decision of their quarrels to the fugitive monarch. The Bohemians alone displayed a wish to be separated from the common state; and under the pretext that the loyal provinces must be separated from the rebellious ones, established a provisional government at Prague. On the 31st of May a great Slavonian congress met in that city. It was followed by riots, in which the wife of Prince Windisch Grätz was shot whilst looking out at the window of her hotel. At the end of a few days the disturbances were quelled.

The promised Austrian constituent diet assembled on the 22nd July. It formed a complete Babel, in which were heard the dialects of Germany, Italy, Poland, Bohemia, Illyria, and other provinces. The diet sent a deputation to Innsbruck to request the emperor to return, who arrived at Vienna on the 12th of August. Meanwhile the discontents of Hungary had gone on increasing. Ferdinand had granted the Hungarians a separate ministry, a union with Transylvania, and the reforms demanded by the diet. But the Hungarians refused all liability to the national debt of the empire and to the king's privy purse—points which Austria was not inclined to abandon. On the 11th July Kossuth obtained a vote of the diet for raising 100,000 men and forty-two millions of florins. The Austrian ministry refused to ratify this vote on the ground that it was contrary to the rights of the general monarchy. Hereupon the Hungarians, passing by the emperor, appealed to the diet then sitting at Vienna; but their deputation was refused access. Ferdinand now resolved to appeal to arms. On the 4th October the Ban Jellachich, the leader of the Croats, who were averse to the incorporation of

Croatia and Transylvania with Hungary, was appointed to command the army against that country. Symptoms of unwillingness to march against the Hungarians were, however, observed in some of the German and Italian regiments. Popular orators addressed the people, and told them that if they did not rise at once they would lose their nationality together with their freedom, since the government was in the hands of a camarilla, and the diet sold and devoted to Sclavonianism. One of the most widely-circulated newspapers hinted at a conspiracy, and told the people that they would find the proofs of it in the cabinet of Count Latour, the minister at war. On the following day it was resolved in a meeting of students and mechanics not to permit any troops to leave Vienna. On the 6th of October a German battalion, accompanied by cuirassiers, which had proceeded to the railroad station *en route* for Hungary, found the place filled with students and burgher guards. With these the soldiers fraternised, and the cuirassiers were obliged to retreat. A Polish regiment that followed was unexpectedly attacked, and, after losing its commander and four guns, obliged to retreat. A fearful struggle took place on the Stephans-platz, which had been seized by some of the burgher guard in order to prevent the alarm-bell from being rung. These men were driven back into the church, in the nave, galleries, and even before the high altar of which a bloody battle ensued, which lasted till the greater part of the guard were either killed or made prisoners. The rioters now proceeded towards the war-office, which was entered, Latour, the old minister at war, killed, his body stripped, and suspended to one of the lamp-posts in the square: all the other ministers but two fled. On all sides were to be seen the members of the diet and the richer citizens hurrying from Vienna. On the next morning the emperor himself followed their example and quitted Schönbrunn, after addressing, in a hand scarcely legible, a note of remonstrance to the diet. Escorted by a battalion of Hess infantry he proceeded to Olmütz, and was everywhere well received by the peasantry. Shortly afterwards an imperial proclamation appeared for the reduction of Vienna by force of arms, and the punishment of the murderers of Count Latour. Prince Windisch-Grätz was entrusted with discretionary powers to carry out these objects.

On the 22nd the prince, who had taken up a position at Stammersdorf with his troops, sent in his conditions. They were, that

all arms should be delivered up, that all clubs and journals should be suppressed, that hostages should be delivered, and that certain individuals to be named hereafter should be given up. Those who hesitated to receive these conditions were to be subject to martial law. The Viennese at once rejected the summons and prepared for a desperate resistance. The walls, where low, were raised with sacks of earth, whilst the gates of the town and the entrances of the streets were defended with barricades, of which there are said to have been some thousands. The number of fighting men within the town was estimated at 25,000, under the command of Messenhausen, a *ci-devant* lieutenant in an Austrian regiment; a force which, besides being ill provided with ammunition, was much too small to defend Vienna against the large armies which surrounded it. On the south side of the town was encamped Jellachich with 35,000 men, and Auersperg with 15,000, and a large park of artillery; whilst on the Marschfeld was Prince Windisch-Grätz with 30,000 men and 70 guns. It was, however, known that the Hungarians were on the march with a large army. The siege had lasted five days, when on the 28th October the storming columns, after being thrice repulsed, succeeded in forcing their way into the outskirts of the town. On the morning of the 29th it was found that the troops were in possession of so much of the suburbs that the city was no longer tenable. An unconditional surrender was now made, and in the evening the people began to deliver up their arms at the places appointed. But whilst this was going on, the watchmen at the top of St. Stephen's were apprised by a cannon-shot in the distance that the Hungarians were approaching. At this news Poles with white and red colours rode through the streets exhorting the people to resistance. They were joined by the students and mechanics; the arms which had been surrendered were again seized and the cannon replanted on the walls.

The Hungarian army was 45,000 strong, with 54 guns and two hussar regiments, but two-thirds of the infantry were militia. Kossuth and General Moga were at the head of the army. Jellachich marched against them with a force one-third larger and 140 guns. The Hungarians were defeated; but their left wing, which had not been broken, covered their retreat. During the engagement the Viennese made two sallies, but were driven back. This breach of capitulation produced a fearful bombardment of the town, which injured several important buildings. On the

31st October the troops forced their way into the town, and proceeded to the Stephans Platz, where they destroyed the lamp-post on which Count Latour's body had been hanged. Now began military rule. Every house was searched, and 1500 prisoners were made, all of whom were liable to be shot. This sentence, however, was executed only on a few, among whom was Robert Blum, a member of the extreme left of the Frankfort assembly, who had been sent on a deputation to the Viennese, and who had taken up arms during the struggle. But hundreds were sent to the Austrian dungeons, and thousands to serve in the army. This last fate was particularly reserved for the students, who were thus exposed to the insults of the rude soldiery, and to the bullets of their former confederates, the Hungarians. Thus ended the rebellion at Vienna.

On the 16th of September a serious riot broke out at Frankfort in consequence of a vote of the national assembly with regard to Schleswic-Holstein. The affairs of those duchies had for some time attracted the attention of Germany, and indeed of Europe. They were independent states, the ducal crown hereditary in the *male* branch of the Danish royal family; but this last law had been abrogated by the King of Denmark, in order that the sovereignty might not depart from his own line, which was represented by females. This proceeding was condemned by the German diet, of which Denmark was a member by virtue of the duchy of Holstein; but Austria and one or two other states had prevented its decree from taking effect. Soon after the accession of Frederick VII. to the throne of Denmark the Danish government decreed, in 1847, that Schleswic-Holstein no longer existed; that Holstein still belonged to the German Confederation, but that Schleswic was inseparably united with Denmark, and was to participate in its constitution and laws. The citizens of Kiel now rose in arms, and were supported by Prussia and several of the northern states of Germany. A Prussian army defeated the Danes at Dannewerk: but Prussia, with the vacillating policy which has of late constantly characterised her, did not follow up the blow with vigour. She did enough to awaken alarm and jealousy in Europe, but not sufficient to carry out her plans or to satisfy the German patriots. On the 26th of August, 1848, she concluded a truce with Denmark, which was approved of by the German parliament at Frankfort. Hereupon the Frankfurters rose and endeavoured to penetrate into the Pauls-kirche, where the assembly

held its sittings, but were prevented by the Prussian troops. The only distinguishing feature of this riot was the cowardly and brutal murder of two members of the parliament, Prince Felix Lichnowsky and General von Auerswald, when returning from a ride. Struve came from Switzerland with a band of Swiss and German radicals, and proclaimed martial law. He directed his men on Carlsruhe, and had one or two affairs with the imperial troops, in which he was far from distinguishing himself by his personal courage. He was captured at Wehr and thrown into prison.

Meanwhile the Prussian revolution, like that of Austria, was drawing to a close. A national assembly, which had been summoned to determine the Prussian constitution, met in the white hall of the royal palace at Berlin on the 22nd of May, 1848. It was a body of 400 heterogeneous members, from the nobles and clergy down to clerks and day-labourers. Its stormy debates were worked up to a revolutionary point by the motion of Stein, carried by a majority of 67, that the minister at war should be instructed to arrest reactionary tendencies among the officers of the army. As the ministers refused to carry out this resolution, disturbances again broke out at Berlin, and on the 14th of June the mob got possession of the arsenal. The popular fury was disarmed by the appointment of a new ministry. The assembly continued its sittings, and on the 30th of October passed a vote to abolish the nobility. The news of the rebellion at Vienna gave an impulse to the democratic party, and Waldeck, one of its leaders in the assembly, proposed that the king should be requested to send an army to the relief of the besieged Viennese. On the 2nd November the ministers resigned, and Count Brandenburg, a natural son of Frederick William II., was entrusted with the formation of a cabinet. The effects of this change were soon apparent. The assembly was ordered to transfer its sittings from Berlin to Brandenburg, and meanwhile it was adjourned till the 27th November. The members, however, of the left, or liberal party, denied the right of the crown to adjourn a constituent assembly; and as they persisted in continuing their sittings, the troops, 15,000 strong, were marched back to Berlin, and on the 12th of November the theatre, where the assembly met, was shut up, and the capital declared in a state of siege. The liberal section continued to meet in various localities, among others the rooms of the well-known restaurant Mielentz, in the Linden. Among other resolutions they passed one to prohibit the collection

of the taxes, which, however, the Frankfort diet annulled by a large majority. On the 5th of December appeared a royal decree dissolving the constituent assembly, but accompanied by another granting a constitution. The latter was conceived in an unexpectedly liberal spirit. Its provisions were founded partly on the resolutions of the constituent assembly, partly on those of the Frankfort diet. The distinction of ranks and the privileges of the nobility were abolished: the members of the lower chamber were to be elected by universal suffrage, but a certain property qualification was required in the electors of the higher chamber.

It was the fall of Vienna that put an end to the Prussian revolution; for though Hungary was still in a state of rebellion, it was not believed that she could hold out. Prince Schwartzemberg, who had now acceded to office, infused new vigour into the Austrian counsels. He declared his intention of effecting the union of all the different nationalities under the central power of Austria. As a preliminary step the abdication of the Emperor Ferdinand and of his brother and next successor, the Archduke Francis, was announced on the 2nd December, 1848: the crown devolved on Francis Joseph, son of the Archduke. In the manifesto which notified his abdication Ferdinand declared that he did not feel himself equal to the times; but the real cause of his abdication was his concessions to the Hungarians. It could not well be that the same sovereign who had recognised the right of that nation to an independent government should set an army in motion to overthrow it.

On the 15th December the Austrian forces, under Prince Windisch Grätz, marched for Hungary. The refugee Hungarian nobility at Vienna had represented to him the reduction of that country as an easy undertaking; for though the Hungarians had upwards of 100,000 men under arms, with a numerous and well-served artillery, and some of the best cavalry in the world, yet the far greater part of their infantry consisted of Honveds, or militia. Among their irregular cavalry was a peculiar and formidable force, 9000 strong, called Esikoses, armed with a whip ten feet long, having a bullet at the end, with which they either killed their opponents, or by twisting the whips round their necks dragged them from their horses. It does not belong to our design to enter into the details of the Hungarian campaign. Suffice it to say that at the end of four months the Austrians were pretty nearly driven out of Hungary, chiefly through the extraordinary

ability and activity displayed by General Bem, a Pole, and the incapacity of Windisch Grätz. Austria's only chance of saving Hungary seemed now to be to call in the assistance of Russia. On the 1st May, 1849, the intervention of that country was officially announced in the Vienna Gazette, and in the following month operations were begun by a Russian army of 140,000 men. Prussia, in spite of the democratic principles she had just published, allowed them a passage by the railway of Upper Silesia. On the 13th August General Görgey, who had displayed great ability in commanding a division of the Hungarian army, surrendered with his whole force to the Russian general, Rüdiger. The war might now be considered at an end. Kossuth, Bem, and several other Hungarian leaders, managed to reach the Turkish borders. Komorn, which was the last place that held out, surrendered on the 29th September to the Austrians, under General Haynau, who had been recalled from Italy to command the Austrian troops. Haynau followed up his victory with great cruelty. The whole Hungarian nation were held amenable for the murder of Count Latour; and on the 6th of October, the anniversary of it, many of the Hungarian nobility were condemned to be hanged or shot; among them Count Louis Batthyani.

Meanwhile on the 7th March, 1849, the archiepiscopal palace at Kremsier, where the Austrian diet had been assembled for the purpose of preparing a constitution, was surrounded before day-break with a battalion of infantry, the hall and tribunes shut up, and sentinels posted at all the gates. At the same time the emperor published a constitution. States were granted for the separate kingdoms, and a diet for the collective empire. A remarkable feature in this constitution was the forming the nobility of the Austrian hereditary dominions, of Illyria, Hungary, Galicia, Lombardy, and Venice, into a political body, whose existence would depend on that of the collective empire.

The more Austria pushed her scheme for forming her various states into a central monarchy, the more she seemed to alienate herself from the German Confederation. Many debates arose in the Frankfort diet respecting her position in the Confederation, which ended by a majority naming the King of Prussia as hereditary Emperor of Germany. This vote was passed on the 28th of March, 1849, and a deputation of 24 members of the diet was despatched to Berlin with the offer of the imperial crown. But since the refusal of the chambers to vote the supplies, the

King of Prussia looked on democracy with disgust; and it was thought that to accept the imperial crown "for the sovereign people" would be to abandon Germany as a prey to the democratic principle. Frederick William IV. refused the empire, unless his acceptance of it should be agreed to by the rest of the German sovereigns; and Austria and Bavaria repudiated this act of the Frankfort diet.

The discussion of the German constitution and the vote of the Frankfort diet were followed by riots in Saxony, the Palatinate, and Baden. At Dresden, though Prussian troops had been called in to the assistance of the garrison, the fight between the soldiers and the people lasted from the 6th to the 9th of May, during which much injury was done to the houses and public buildings. In Baden and the Palatinate the insurrection was for the first time characterised by the desertion of the military. At Landau the officers were obliged to mount guard themselves; whilst the garrison at Rastadt placed that fortress at the disposition of the people. The insurgents took the field with a considerable force, but were put down by the Prussians after two obstinate and bloody engagements. Rastadt held out till the 29th July, long after the insurgent army had been dispersed.

The fall of Hungary, already related, may be considered as the end of the European revolution. The Austrian arms, under Marshal Radetzky, had previously been victorious over the insurgents of Lombardy. Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, who had come to their assistance, having been entirely defeated, abdicated in favour of his son, Victor Emanuel. Venice, which was the last town in Italy that held out, surrendered on the 23rd of August, 1849; but its capture cost the Austrians 20,000 men.

The question of the German constitution still remained to sow dissension in Germany. Prussia, unwilling to acknowledge the authority of the Frankfort diet as constituted in 1815, endeavoured to form a union with some of the German states, and under her auspices a parliament was summoned to meet at Erfurt in March, 1850. But before it assembled Saxony and Hanover retired from the union, and the Erfurt parliament led to no result. At the same time Austria was taking active measures to uphold the authority of the Frankfort diet, and summoned an extraordinary meeting of the confederation, in order to devise means for replacing the provisional government which, by the consent of Austria and Prussia, had been erected *ad interim*.

These differences between the Austrian and Prussian governments were brought to a point by some occurrences which took place in the electorate of Hesse. The Elector had appointed as his chief minister Hassenpflug, a man convicted of forgery, against whom the chambers passed a vote of want of confidence. They subsequently refused to sanction a credit of 760,000 dollars which the minister demanded, but without condescending to give any information respecting the purposes to which it was to be applied. The Hessian government dissolved the chambers, declared a state of siege, and proceeded to collect the taxes without the sanction of the legislature. Hassenpflug was very much disappointed to find that these arbitrary and unconstitutional measures were met by the people only with a passive resistance which deprived him of all pretext for making use of military force. The Elector and his ministers left Cassel on the night of the 12th of September, although the population was perfectly quiet. It had been represented to him that his life was in danger, with the view of creating an uproar, and thus finding a pretence for the use of force. From Wilhelmsbad, whither the court had retired, a decree was issued for erecting a military dictatorship. But this plan unexpectedly broke down by the resignation of 241 officers of the army, among whom were 4 generals, 7 colonels, 20 lieutenant-colonels, 12 majors, and 59 captains. Hassenpflug's last resource was to request the assistance of the Frankfort diet. Austria eagerly seized the opportunity to bring the question between her and Prussia to an issue. On the 1st November Bavarian and Austrian troops crossed the southern frontier of the electorate, whilst about the same time Prussian troops entered it on the north. The whole Prussian force had been called out. She had on foot an army of between 500,000 and 600,000 men, and the Austrian forces were of equal amount. But the whole result of these vast preparations was an affair of outposts in the neighbourhood of Fulda, in which the Austrians lost four or five men. The matter was referred to Russian arbitration. Conferences were opened at Olmütz in which Prussia laid aside the threatening attitude she had assumed and abandoned the electorate to the Austrian troops. Shortly afterwards the Austrians marched into Schleswig Holstein, to compel the insurgents to disarm. England, France, and Russia had declared in a protocol signed in London on the 2nd June, 1850, that it was essential to the balance of power in Europe that Denmark should retain all her possessions.

Thus were terminated, but not adjusted, the differences between Austria and Prussia on the German question. The causes of dissension still remain. The growing power and influence of Prussia as a German state; the aim of Austria to consolidate a foreign empire, yet, though thus alienating her interests from those of Germany in general, to assert her ancient lead in the counsels of that nation; the want, so keenly felt by a large and enlightened portion of the German public, of some national constitution which might ensure for their country that position to which her wealth and population justly entitle her;—all these causes of action, though they may be suspended for a time, are very far from being removed, and must in all probability lead at no very distant date to a reopening of the whole question.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER LXV.

German Literature.—A century ago Germany can hardly be said to have possessed a national literature. Previously to that period we hear, indeed, of two Silesian schools of poetry; but they are now little more than matters of historical remembrance. Martin Opitz von Boberfeld (1597-1639) was the founder of the first of these schools; a writer whose poetry is now obsolete, but who exercised a beneficial influence on the German language. The poets of his school were for the most part imitators of the French, and none of them was distinguished for original genius. The second Silesian school, founded by Hoffmann von Hoffmannswaldau towards the end of the 17th century, was still worse than the first. The productions of this school were mere caricatures of those of their predecessors, and distinguished by nothing but affectation, immorality, and bad taste.

The German mind, though not devoid of original genius, is still more remarkable for its susceptibility of external impressions. The first literary attempts after the epochs just mentioned were not ebullitions of the national mind, but imitations of foreign models. They were also divided into “schools,” of which we find three, the French, the English, and the Greek schools. The first of these, modelled on the literature of the age of Louis XIV., and supported by the influence and example of Frederick the Great, long promised to be the only one. Its chief supporter and law-giver was Gottsched, a Leipsic critic, who ruled despotically

in the literary German world, and prescribed the stiffest rules of French art. Nothing, however, can be more dissimilar than the French and Teutonic mind; and the Germans ultimately became converts to the doctrines of Bodmer of Zürich, the champion of the English school. Another class of writers proposed the Greek poets as their models.

The most celebrated poets of this period were Gellert (1715-1769), who wrote some excellent fables and hymns; Hagedorn (1708-1754), who composed small poems with liveliness and grace; Klopstock (1724-1803), the imitator of Milton, and author of the *Messias*. More direct imitations were those of Kleist, who copied Thomson's "Spring" in his "Frühling;" and of Zachariä, who imitated Pope's lighter poems. In like manner, Voss copied Homer, Gleim Anacreon, and Gessner Theocritus. The greatest poet of the period was Wieland (1733-1813), who, though an imitator, was no servile one, and excelled all his contemporaries in wit, grace, and nature. His master-piece is the romantic poem of "Oberon;" but he was a very voluminous writer, both of prose and poetry.

At this time also flourished Lessing (1729-1781), one of the best writers and most sterling critics of Germany. Lessing helped to give the death blow to the *Gallomania*. In his "Dramaturgie" are developed the soundest principles of dramatic art. He was, however, not merely a critic, but an excellent dramatic poet. His plays of *Minna von Barnhelm*, *Emilia Galotti*, and *Nathan der Weise*, still hold possession of the stage. Herder (1744-1803), a man of great piety, simplicity, and learning, was a sort of reflection of Lessing.

We pass over many names in order to hasten to a new and more independent era of German literature. One of the earliest authors of this epoch—which, from the excitement imparted to its character by the new French philosophy and by the American revolution, has been called by the Germans the *Sturm und Drang Periode* (storm and press period)—was Schubart (1739-1791); but its two most distinguished authors are Goethe and Schiller.

Goethe was the son of a gentleman of fortune, and was born at Frankfort on the Main in 1749. He was destined for the law, and educated at Jena and Strasburg; but the early bent of his mind towards poetry rendered that study altogether insupportable to him. One of his earlier productions was the drama of "Götz

von Berlichingen," published in 1773; which was soon followed by the tragedy of "Clavigo," and the sentimental novel of the "Sorrows of Werther." Goethe's fame was now established; and he was invited to the court of Saxe Weimar, which, under the Duchess Amelia and her son Charles Augustus, had become as it were the literary metropolis of Germany. Wieland and Herder had been already domesticated there, and Schiller was soon to follow. During his residence here, which was diversified by two journeys into Italy, Goethe produced some of his best tragedies, as the "Iphigenia," "Torquato Tasso," "Egmont," &c. It was after his return from his second journey into Italy, in 1799, that he produced his masterpiece, the dramatic poem of "Faust." The second part, however, was not finished till some time afterwards, and was one of his latest productions. Other late poems were "Reineke Fuchs," and the domestic poem of "Hermann und Dorothea." Goethe also wrote a great many odes and minor pieces. His prose style is reckoned very pure and elegant by his countrymen, and his novels of "Wilhelm Meister" and the "Wahlverwandschaften" have attained great popularity. The memoirs of his own life, under the title of "Dichtung und Wahrheit," are also much admired by the Germans; but to many English readers they will appear an elaborate display of vain and often childish egotism. There is considerable truth in the following character of Goethe, drawn by one of his countrymen.* "Goethe possessed all the delicacy of Lessing, with a still richer fancy, but without his manliness, and all the softness, excitability, and yielding temper of Herder, without his faith. With regard to the elegant treatment of any given subject, he was quite our greatest poet; but his enthusiasm was completely egotistical, and he never handled a subject but for the sake of portraying and flattering himself. Just as he contrived in his chamber at Weimar, by a skilful management of the light, to present himself to the strangers who visited him in the most picturesque and favourable point of view, so all his works were so many artistic means of setting himself off."

Goethe's younger contemporary, Schiller, was of a more manly and simple character. He was born at Marbach on the 10th of January, 1759, where his father followed the profession of a surgeon. He was educated at Stuttgart, and studied successively divinity, law, and physic, but without finally adopting any of

* Wolfgang Mentzel, *Gesch. der Deutschen*, cap. 618.

those professions. Indeed his progress in learning is said not to have been very striking; but he early discovered a taste for poetry, especially the drama. In his nineteenth year, whilst smarting under the harsh discipline of the military academy at Stuttgart, he wrote his play of the "Raüber," a piece which discovers great force and originality of genius, but, as might be expected, little acquaintance with the world, or with the requirements of the stage. Its publication caused a great sensation in Germany, and it was soon translated into most of the European languages. Schiller having absented himself from the academy without leave, in order to be present at the representation of his piece on the Mannheim stage, on the 10th January, 1782, was placed under arrest for four and twenty hours. The authorities thought they perceived a dangerous boldness in the language of the "Robbers," and the Duke of Würtemberg forbade Schiller to write anything but his medical exercises. Indignant at this fresh piece of tyranny, Schiller fled from Stuttgart, though without any visible means of support. In the following year he produced his "Verschwörung des Fiesco," which was, however, unsuccessful, and he was for some time reduced to the greatest pecuniary distress. In 1784 the "Kabale und Liebe" was represented at Mannheim. Though of the same school as the "Robbers," "Cabal and Love" shows a great advance in dramatic art. In spite of some improbabilities, the bold hand with which the different characters are sketched, the wonderful power of the language, and the deep and wracking pathos of the situations, render it one of the most touching and effective tragedies on the stage. After this play Schiller abandoned his earlier and more original style, and produced in 1784 the versified tragedy of "Don Karlos." The composition of this piece directed his attention towards history, and in 1788 appeared the "Geschichte des Abfalls der vereinigten Niederlande," a work which procured him the professorship of History in the University of Jena. Here he became acquainted with Goethe, Wieland, Herder, and others, and in 1790 married the Fräulein von Lengefeld. The duties of his professorship diverted his attention from poetry; and indeed his literary labours were altogether suspended for some time by his bad state of health. After his partial recovery he published his second historical work, the "Geschichte des 30 Jährigen Kriegs." Schiller's histories are distinguished rather by graphic power and vivid narrative, than by depth or authority. At this period he

devoted himself to philosophy, and especially to the study of Kant's "*Kritik der reinen Vernunft*," the result of which studies were his critical and philosophical essays. He subsequently resumed his poetical labours, and in 1799 appeared the dramatic poem of "*Wallenstein*." This was followed in quick succession by the tragedies of "*Maria Stuart*," "*Die Jungfrau von Orleans*," "*Die Braut von Messina*," and "*Wilhelm Tell*." Besides these and other works, Schiller left several dramatic fragments, and two comedies of no great merit, namely, "*Der Neffe als Onkel*," and "*Der Parasit*." He also produced a great many small poems and lyrical pieces of preeminent beauty, which it would be too long to enumerate here. Among these "*Das Lied von der Glocke*" is the best known, from its being sometimes represented on the stage.

Many other names might be mentioned; as the dramatic poets Kotzebue (1761-1819) and Iffland (1759-1814); the lyric poets Bürger (1748-1794), the two Counts Stolberg, Uhland, Körner, and others; but our limits do not allow us to particularize.

The prose literature of Germany presents us with an equally distinguished list of names. At the head of her philosophers stands the Hanoverian Baron von Leibnitz (1646-1716), who was likewise distinguished as a mathematician. His philosophy partook of that of Des Cartes, and most of his works were written in French. Immanuel Kant of Königsberg (1724-1804), the founder of the æsthetical and transcendental philosophy in Germany, was a writer of a much more national character. His "*Kritik der reinen Vernunft*" and "*Kritik der Urtheilskraft*" have exerted an immense influence over the minds of his countrymen. Kant was succeeded by a long list of metaphysical writers, who carried the transcendental philosophy to a still profounder depth, but whose works are little understood or relished out of Germany. The most distinguished names among them are those of Fichte, Hegel, and Schelling.

The natural tendency of the German mind towards metaphysical speculations has found its way even into theology; and where it has not resulted in open infidelity, has displayed itself in "rationalistic" and other theories which are at all events wholly at variance with the simple doctrines of Christianity. The origin of "rationalism" in Germany may be traced to the writings of Spinoza, the Jew philosopher of Amsterdam. The head of the

school—if that be any distinction—is Dr. Strauss, the author of the “*Leben Jesu.*” Germany, however, has produced many profound and justly celebrated Biblical critics and historians, among whom may be mentioned Mosheim, Neander, Krummacher, Griesbach, Wetstein, Gesenius, Bretschneider, Schleiermacher, and others.

In the successful study of the Eastern and classical languages, and of philosophy in general, modern Germany stands unrivalled; though we sometimes miss in her critics that soberness of judgment which distinguishes their brethren in England and Holland. Heyne in Göttingen was the first German who explained the classics with elegance and taste. It would be endless to enumerate the long list of modern German philologists. At the head of the German Hellenists may be placed Hermann of Leipsic (lately deceased), and Böckh, who still lectures at the University of Berlin. Bopp has distinguished himself by his researches in general philology, and the brothers Grimm by their investigations of their own and of the Northern languages. Among archæologists should be mentioned K. O. Müller, Wachsmuth, Creutzer, Becker, and others; but especially Winkelmann (1717-1768), whose “*Geschichte der Kunst*” is a work no less elegant than profound. In natural philosophy and science, Alexander von Humboldt, Liebig, and Ritter stand at the head of a long list of distinguished names. Germany is particularly rich in historical works. Among the writers of ancient and of universal history we find Heeren, Schlosser, Rotteck, and especially Niebuhr (born at Copenhagen 1776-1831), whose “*Römische Geschichte*” forms an epoch in historical literature. Among the writers of modern history may be noted Johannes von Müller, Archenholz, Mentzel, Ranke, von Raumer. In criticism the two Schlegels stand distinguished. Among the writers of novels and romances are Tieck, Fouqué, Novalis, J. P. Richter, Musäus, Hoffmann, La Fontaine, and numerous others. It would, however, be both tedious and useless to extend a list of names which could after all convey but a very imperfect idea of the achievements of the Germans in the various departments of literature; and the preceding scanty details must be regarded only as sketching out as it were the main headlands and promontories of literary Germany.

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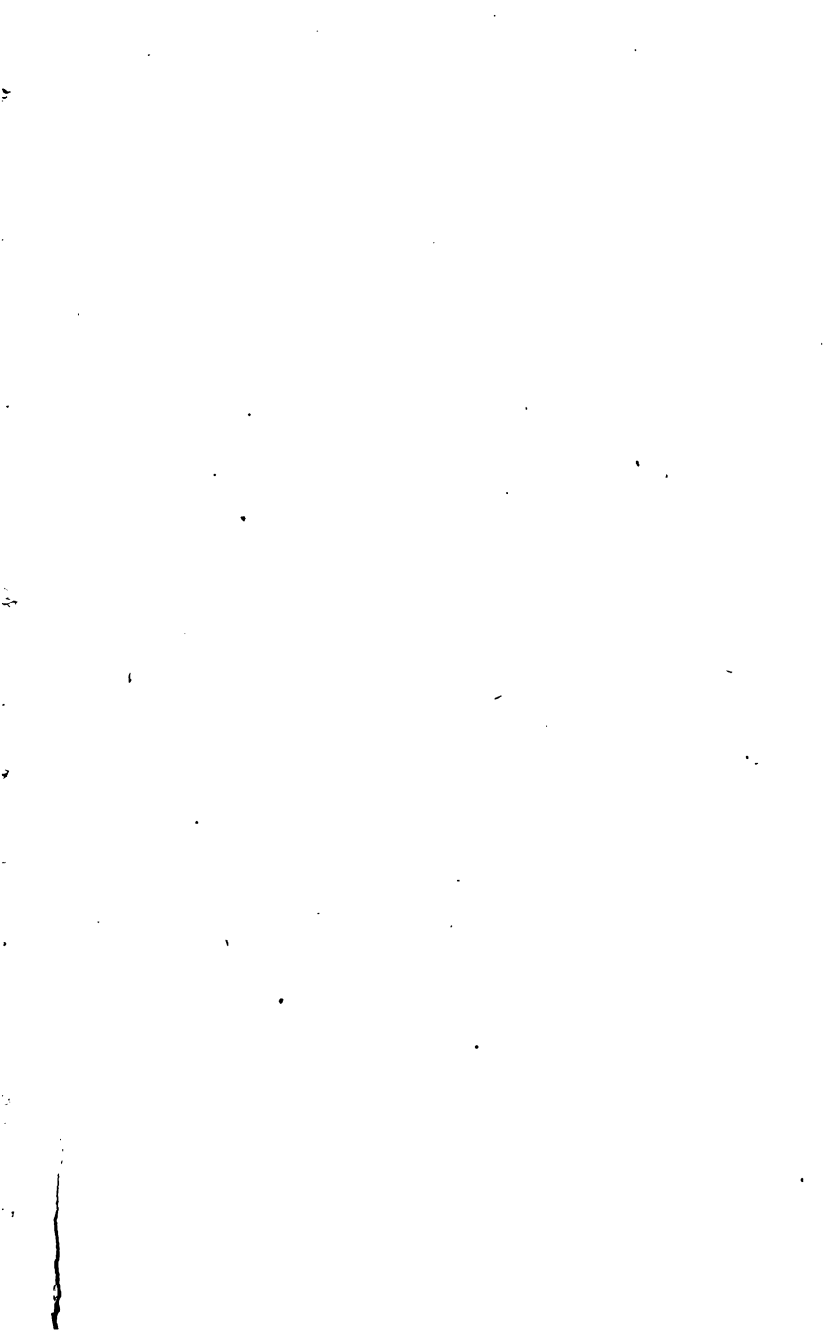
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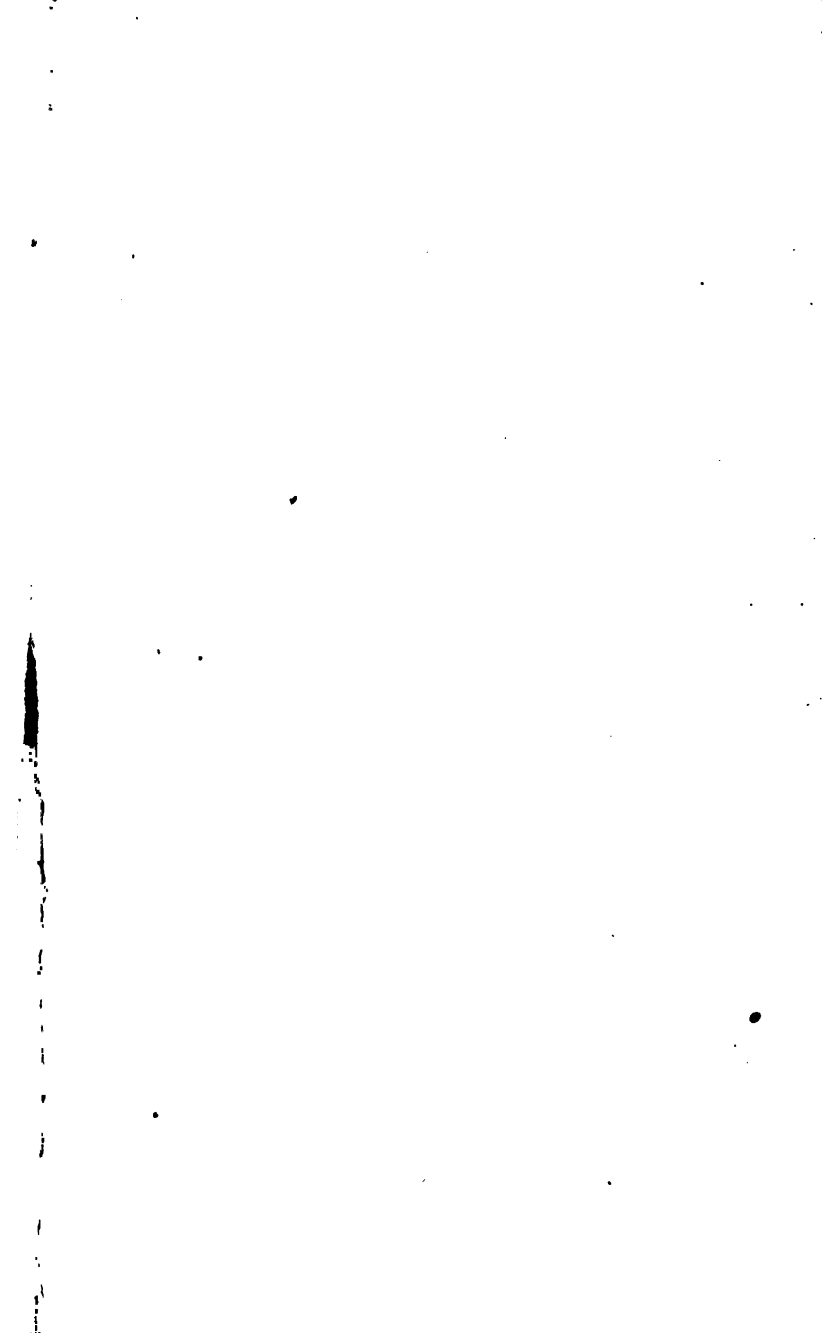
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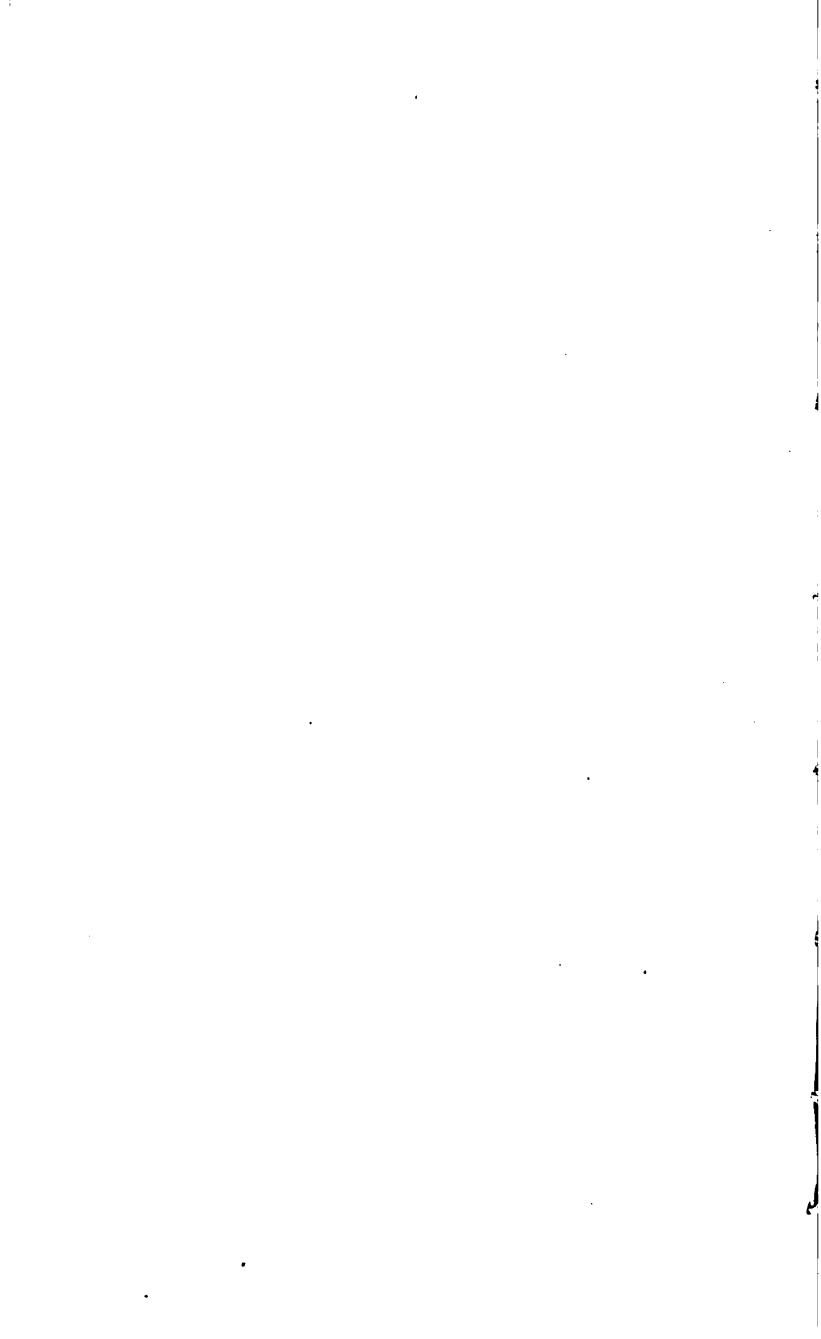
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